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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

mf. 36

BY THE

REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, LITT.D., D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., F.B.A.,

ELRINGTON AND BOSWORTH PROFESSOR OF ANGLO-SAXON
AND FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE

SECOND EDITION

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

[The first edition of this work was printed in 1901. It is now reprinted, with a few corrections and additions.]

§ 1. Prefatory Remarks.

In attempting to deal with some of the principal place-names in Cambridgeshire, with a view to obtaining some light upon their etymologies, I find myself at a disadvantage in one respect, but in another to have some hopes of partial success. The disadvantage is, that I have made no wide or extended study of English place-names in general; and it is obvious that, in many an instance, one place-name is likely to throw light upon another, though the places may be in different counties. On the other hand, I have had much experience in tracing the etymologies of most of the main words that occur in our English Dictionaries; and the phonetic laws that regulate place-names are precisely the same as those that regulate other native words that are in common use.

Perhaps there is no subject of study that is, generally speaking, in so neglected a state. The wild and ignorant guess-work of the eighteenth century, and even of the nineteenth, has filled our books of antiquities and our county histories with many misleading theories; and the results of these unconscionable inventions have not unfrequently found their way even into the ordnance-maps. However, the principles of phonetics are beginning to make progress. It is now recognised that, if it is necessary to look to our spellings, it is still more necessary to know what those spellings mean, and not to talk

at random about words until we have at least learnt how to *pronounce* them. For it is, after all, the spoken word that matters; the spellings are merely symbols and guides, and will only guide those who understand them.

It is only of late years that the phonetic laws which govern the gradations and mutations of Anglo-Saxon words have been intelligently investigated; and hence it is that it is quite impossible for such as know nothing about such laws to realise their intricacy, and the certainty with which, in the hands of the student, they point to the original sounds. And there is yet another matter which is of vast importance and has nevertheless received far too little attention; viz. the now well ascertained fact that many of our spellings are Norman or Anglo-French, and cannot be interpreted even by the student of Anglo-Saxon until he has further realised what such symbols mean. I beg leave to say that this is a point which I have carefully studied; and I had in the press, in 1901, a fairly complete statement of the 16 Canons whereby the spelling of a Norman scribe is distinguished from that of a Saxon one[1]. Many of those who have hitherto investigated the spellings of Domesday Book have sometimes, I fear, been in almost complete ignorance of the sounds which such spellings denote. Whilst I offer these remarks by way of showing that I have considered the matter seriously, and have avoided frivolous guesses, I by no means suppose that all the results here obtained are final. Some are obvious; others are reasonably certain; but some are doubtful. Which these are, I shall usually endeavour to indicate, by the introduction of such words as 'probably' and 'possibly,' and the like.

I wish to express my sincere thanks for help received. I do not think I should have undertaken the present task but for the kindness of Mr C. Sayle and Mr J. E. Foster. Mr Sayle supplied me with the alphabetical list of the principal place-names in the county, nearly all of which are here considered; whilst Mr J. E. Foster did me inestimable service by ascertaining the old spellings of our place-names as they are given in

[1] See the "Observations" at pp. 471–5 of my Notes on English Etymology; Oxford, 1901.

the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Ely Registers, the Feudal Aids, the Pipe Rolls, and the like, supplying in every case the exact reference, and (wherever it was possible) the exact date. Only the philologist wholly realises the helpfulness of such *data*; and it is sufficient to say that, without such material, the work could not have been undertaken at all. I shall frequently give the dates of various spellings below; but I wish it to be understood that, in every case, the exact reference is known, and the evidence can always be produced. When, for example, I say that Chesterton is spelt *Cestretone* in 1210 and in 1130, it is meant that Mr Foster has found that spelling under the date 1210–12, in the Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series), p. 529, and under the date 1130–1 in the Pipe Roll.

I am also much indebted for many hints and corrections to Mr W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford; but it will be understood that he is in no way responsible for the results here given.

The chief authorities which I have myself consulted are not many. I may instance the very valuable work entitled Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876), which is practically the *original* of the Domesday Book as far as relates to Cambridgeshire, with the Inquisitio Eliensis appended; the Domesday Book for Cambridgeshire; the Ramsey Chronicle and the Ramsey Chartulary (in the Rolls Series); the printed charters as edited by Kemble, Thorpe, Earle, and Birch; Sweet's Oldest English Texts and his History of English Sounds; the New English Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary; the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary by Bosworth and Toller; and other helpful books of a like character. For the spelling of Anglo-Saxon names, I have depended on Kemble's Index of place-names in his sixth volume, and Searle's Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. I have also obtained various useful information from Miller and Skertchly's book entitled The Fenland Past and Present, from a History of Cambridgeshire dated 1851, and from the more recent History of Cambridgeshire by Conybeare.

The result of a study of English place-names can hardly prove to be other than extremely disappointing, especially to

the sanguine and the imaginative. Speaking generally, we can only satisfy our curiosity to a very limited extent; and we have borne in upon us the fact, which any reflecting mind might have anticipated, that names were conferred upon places quite casually, for the sake of convenience, and for very trivial reasons; precisely as they are conferred now. This is easily illustrated by the following list of *modern* names, compiled from the Ordnance map of Cambridgeshire. I find there Chalk Farm, Cold Harbour Farm, Crick's Farm, Cuckoo Farm, Grove Farm, High Bridge Farm, Hill Farm, Lower Farm, Manor Farm, New Farm, Oldfield Farm, Scotland Farm, Shardelow's Farm, West Fen Farm, Woodhouse Farm, and many more; Fox Hill, Honey Hill, Thorn Hill, White Cross Hill; Duck End, Frog End, Green End, South End; Black Hall, Gunner's Hall, Nether Hall, Poplar Hall, Spring Hall, White Hall, Wood Hall; Quail's Lodge, Worsted Lodge; Baits Bite, Brookfield, Friesland, King's Hedges, Lamb's Cross, The Poplars, Wrangling Corner; and so forth. These afford an indication of the character of the names we may expect to find, though perhaps our older names are, on the whole, a trifle more dignified, as being more descriptive. Yet the truth is that they are usually more prosaic than poetical.

Most of the names considered below are arranged in groups, as this is by far the best way of considering them. The most frequent endings refer to settlements, as *-ton* (for *town*), *-ham*, *-stead*, *-worth*, *-wick*, and *-cote*; we also find *-bridge*, *-hithe*, *-low*, *-well*, and others of a like kind, referring to things artificial; whilst another set refers to things natural, such as *-den*, *-don* (for *down*), *-ey* (island), *-field*, *-ford*, *-mere*, *-pool*, and the like. The most typical are such as end in *-ton* or *-ington*. Those in *-ton* are often preceded by the name of the first occupier or builder of the *town* or farm; whilst those in *-ing-ton* refer to a cluster of houses which formed the settlement of a tribe. The name of the first settler or tribe of settlers is invariably that of some man or family of whom nothing further is known; and I suppose that when we meet in modern times with names of the same character, such as Crick's Farm, Gunner's Hall, or Shardelow's Farm, we do not usually care to

enquire into the antecedents of Mr Crick, or Mr Gunner, or Mr Shardelow; and it might easily happen that, even if we did so, we should not reap any great advantage from it, even if we were successful. We must leave the result as we find it, and be thankful that we have learnt what the names mean.

Abbreviations, etc.

The following is a list of the more important sources of old names, with some abbreviations:

Cat. A.D.—Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Record Series).
D.B.—Domesday Book (part relating to Cambridgeshire).
E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
E.R.—Ely Registers (in the Ely Diocesan Remembrancer).
F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.
Hundred Rolls.—Rotuli Hundredorum; vols. i. and ii. Those in vol. ii are dated 1279.
I.C.C.—Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis; and Inquisitio Eliensis; ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton; 1876.
Index to the Rolls and Charters in the British Museum, ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley (1900).
In. p. m.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).
N.E.D.—New English Dictionary (Oxford).
P.F.—Pedes Finium; ed. Walter Rye.
P.R.—Pipe Roll, 1189–1190; and Rolls of the Pipe, 1155–1158; ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter.
R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby. (Rolls Series.)
R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary, ed. W. H. Hart; 3 vols. (The third vol. has a full index.)
R. Chron.—Ramsey Chronicle, ed. Rev. W. D. Macray. (Rolls Series.)

§ 2. The Suffix -ton.

The chief places in Cambs. ending with the suffix *-ton* (not preceded by *-ing*) are as follows: Barton, Carlton, Caxton, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Clopton, Comberton, Coton, Croxton, Ditton, Drayton, Foxton, Girton, Harlton, Harston, Hauxton, Hinxton, Histon, Kingston, Linton, Long Stanton, Malton, Milton, Newton, Rampton, Royston, Saxton, Sutton, Weston,

Wilburton. I omit Ickleton and Sawston intentionally, for reasons which will be given in due time; cf. p. 18.

It is well known that the suffix *-ton* is merely the unemphatic form of the familiar English word *town*, of which the original sense was "enclosure." It usually signified a collection of dwellings, or, as in Scotland at this day, a solitary farmhouse. Perhaps the nearest modern equivalent is "homestead"; without any necessary restriction to a homestead belonging to a single owner, although this signification is certainly included.

Barton. This is the prov. E. *barton*, a farm-yard; for which see the English Dialect Dictionary. It is the A.S. *bere-tūn*, lit. corn-farm, or barley-enclosure; from *bere*, barley, and *tūn*. Thus the syllable *Bar-* is in this instance the same as the *bar-* in *barley*; see the New English Dictionary.

Carlton. Written *Carleton* in 1302 (F.A. i. 142), *Carlentone* in Domesday. Here *Carl* is the Scandinavian equivalent of the A.S. *ceorl*, whence E. *churl* and the place-name Charlton. *Carl* frequently occurs as a man's name, and is, in fact, the origin of the modern E. *Charles*. The Old Norse *karl* also signifies a man, a male, a household servant, a husbandman; see *Carl* in the N.E.D. (New English Dictionary). Its combining form is *karla-*; so that Carlton answers to an Icelandic form *Karlatūn*. Cf. *Carlatūn* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 288; also *Carletūn* (Carlton, Cambs.) in the same, iv. 300.

Caxton is spelt as at present in rather early times; as, e.g., in 1245 (In. p. m., p. 3). There is a place named *Cawston* in Norfolk, which is merely another form of the same name. This we know from the fact that the famous printer is not unfrequently called *Causton*; see the Dict. of Nat. Biography. And this is why we find *Caustone* in Domesday Book instead of Caxton. The prefix *Caus-* is mysterious; and I only make a guess when suggesting that it may just possibly represent an A.S. form *Cages*, gen. case from a nom. *Cah*. That there was such a name as *Cah* may be inferred from the patronymic *Cahing*, whence the place-name *Cahing-læg*, in Kemble, Cod.

Dipl. ii. 137, l. 9; compare also *Cagbrōc* in the same, iii. 413. The closely related name *Ceahha* occurs in *Ceahhan mere*, id. iii. 48, l. 26. A genitival form *Cahes*[1], combined with *tūn*, would give in Mid. Eng. a form *Cagheston*, or (by contraction) *Cagh'ston*; and the *ghs* might develop an *x*, as in the case of the E. *hox* from A.S. *hōh-sinu*; see *Hox* in the New. Eng. Dictionary, and compare the use of *hock* as a variant of *hough* (see the same). *Cah* is an Old Mercian form, as distinguished from the Wessex *Ceah*, with a broken vowel. This explanation is, however, mere guesswork.

CHERRY HINTON. The prefix *cherry*, having reference to cherry-trees, is comparatively modern. The place-name Hinton occurs in many parts of England, and is spelt *Hintone* in Domesday Book, suggesting the A.S. *hind*, a hind, female deer. Had the prefix been *Hine-*, it would answer to the A.S. *hīna*, as seen in *Hīna-gemǣro*, *Hīna-hege*, *Hīna-mearc*, place-names given in Kemble's Index; where *hīna* is the genitive of *hīwan*, a plural sb. meaning "domestic servants," allied to the modern E. *hind*, a servant, especially an agricultural labourer; see N.E.D. The result is uncertain; but I now strongly incline to this latter opinion, as I find that Hinton in Dorsets. was formerly spelt *Hineton*; In. p. m., p. 20, and *Hyneton*, id., p. 304.

CHESTERTON is spelt *Cestretone* in 1210 (R.B.), in 1130 (P.R.), and in Domesday Book. The corresponding A.S. form is *ceaster-tūn*, where *ceaster* is merely the Wessex form representing the Lat. *castra*, a camp. The A.S. *ceaster* was feminine; because the form *castra*, ending in *-a*, sounded like a fem. sing., though really a neut. pl.

CLOPTON or CLAPTON, in the parish now called Croydon-cum-Clapton, is spelt *Cloptone* in 1210 (R.B.), and *Cloptune* in D.B.; but *Clopetuna* in I.C.C., with reference to Clopton in Suffolk. The prefix is the same as in Clapton and Clapham. This is ascertained from a genuine charter of the time of Ælfred in which Clapham (in Surrey) appears as Cloppa-hām;

[1] Perhaps Mercian; cf. *bǣha* for *bēaga* in a Suffolk charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 273, l. 13.

see Sweet, Early English Texts, p. 451. *Cloppa* looks like a genitive plural of a form **clop*; cf. *clop-œcer, clop-hyrst,* in Birch, iii. 589, 590. Cf. Clapham, Beds.; formerly Clopham.

COMBERTON. Here the *o* is the regular later Anglo-French substitute for an earlier *u*; it is spelt *Cumbertone* in 1155 (R.B.) and in Domesday Book. The spelling *Cumbretone,* occurring in 1210 (R.B.), is somewhat preferable. The prefix *Cumber-* or *Cumbre-* represents A.S. *Cumbran,* genitive of *Cumbra,* a personal name; see Searle, Onomasticon, p. 146. The genitive *Cumbran-* is clearly seen in the place-name *Cumbran-weorð* (lit. Comber-worth); see Earle, A.S. Charters, p. 447, l. 4. Kemble has the acc. pl. *Cumbras* with the sense of 'Welshmen'; Cod. Dipl. iii. 59. It means "Cumbra's town."

COTON. In this case, the modern pronunciation suggests a derivation from *cote* and *-ton,* where *cote* is another form of *cot.* But it is highly probable that we have here (as often) an instance of a name expressed in the dative case; see the account of Newnham (below). If so, *Coton* really represents the A.S. *cotum,* dative pl. of *cot,* a cottage; and the true sense is "cottages," the prep. *æt* (at the) being understood. Cf. Coates and Cottenham. *Coton* occurs as a place-name in 1296 (In. p. m., p. 129), and *Cotun* in 1272 (the same, p. 39); cf. *Cotum* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 288. This etymology is certified by the fact that (as Lysons notes) another name for Coton was formerly *Cotes. Cotes,* as mentioned in 1211 (R.B.) and in 1284 (F.A. i. 137) appears to refer to Coton; so also *Cotes* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica).

Of the two A.S. forms meaning "cot," *cot* is neuter, and the nom. plural is *cotu*; whilst *cote* is feminine, and the nom. plural is *cotan.* Of *cotan* a later form is *coten,* but it did not last long. The M.E. plurals in *-en* were early replaced by plurals in *-es,* so that the plural was already *cotes* in Wycliffe and Langland. This form is actually preserved in the Cambs. place-name *Coates* (near Whittlesey), and elsewhere (p. 28).

CROXTON. Spelt *Croxtone* in 1302 (F.A., p. 149); *Crokestone* in the Red Book; *Crochestone* in Domesday Book. There

is also a Croxton in Norfolk, spelt *Crokeston* in 1303 (In. p. m., p. 180), and *Crochestune* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. *Crokes* is a late spelling of A.S. *Croces*, gen. case of *Croc*, a personal name of which Mr Searle gives three examples. It means "Croc's town."

DITTON, better known as Fen Ditton, occurs in at least four other counties. In I.C.C., p. 101, we find *Dictune* in one MS., but *Dittune* in another; and again, in a late copy of a will, the dative case *dictunæ*, also written *dictune*; Kemble, Codex Diplom. iii. 272, l. 6; 274, l. 17. Ditton is, in fact, the A.S. *dīctūn*, lit. "dike-town"; the *ct* passed into *tt* by assimilation, precisely as the Lat. *dictum* became *detto* in Italian.

DRAYTON was spelt as now as early as 1210 (R.B.). Domesday has *Draitone*. Various old Charters have *Dreyton* and *Drayton*; but they are all spurious or of late date, as the spelling shows. The earliest spelling is *Drægtun*, as in Kemble, Codex Diplom. vi. 139. The history of the A.S. *dræg*, also found as *ge-dræg*, is not quite clear; but it probably signified 'a drawing together,' and hence, a small band of men. Another sense of the modern E. *dray*, in provincial English, is "a squirrel's nest"; and the familiar "brewer's dray" is the same word[1]. See *gedræg* in Bosworth and Toller, and *dray* in N.E.D. and E.D.D. (English Dialect Dictionary). A probable sense seems to be "a place of shelter," or "retreat." Cf. *dræg-hǣma*, gen. pl., in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 19, l. 22.

FOXTON, spelt *Foxetune* in Domesday Book, requires no explanation.

GIRTON. Spelt *Gyrttone* and *Grettone* in 1434; Annales Monast. S. Albani, ii. 99, 101. In all older spellings of Girton, from the fourteenth century backwards, the *r* immediately follows the *G*. In 1316 (F.A., p. 152), we find *Grettone*; in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33) *Gretton*; in 1236 (R.B.)

[1] See N.E.D., s.v. *Draw*, 3 c. 'We shall say that hawkys doon *draw* when they bere tymbering to their nestes, and nott they *beld* [build] ne *make* ther nestys'; Book of St Alban's, fol. Aij.

Greittone; in Domesday Book *Gretone*. In a charter dated 1060, we find the spelling *Gretton*; Kemble, Codex Diplom. iv. 145, l. 23; but the charter is certainly not of the date assigned to it, as is proved by the comparatively late spellings of the English words cited at p. 147. We clearly have to deal with the same place-name as that which is elsewhere spelt *Gretton*; there are, in fact, two places still so called, one in Gloucestershire and one in Northamptonshire[1]. Two solutions are possible; one, that *gret-ton* is equivalent to *great-ton*, i.e. "a large homestead," quite different from what would now be understood by *a great town*; and in this connexion it is worth observing that England contains at least six places named *Littleton*. The other and far more probable solution is that *gretton* is the same word as the prov. E. *gratton*, which Bailey explains as "grass which comes after mowing, stubble, ersh, or eddish," though it means, more strictly, the enclosure where such grass grows. The E.D.D. treats this word fully; and to this the reader is referred. And compare *Gratten* in the N.E.D.

It is worth notice that *Gretton* is the true Mercian form. *Gratton* is the Southern form, from A.S. *grǣd*, grass, with the addition of *tūn*. But the Mercian form of this word was *grēd*, which would give *Gredton* or *Gretton*, regularly.

HARLTON. The spelling *Harleton* occurs in 1339 (Ely Registers). As *ar* usually answers to an earlier *er*, we may here see an A.S. name due to a name-prefix beginning with *Herl-*. Hence it is that I.C.C. has both *Harletona* and *Herletona*. The prefix *Herle-* represents a late pet-name *Herla* (gen. *Herlan*), probably short for **Herela*, and formed from a name beginning with *Here-*, probably *Here-wulf*. (Distinct from *Herl-* for *Erl*, *Eorl*, in which the *H* is inorganic.)

HARSTON. The spelling *Hardlestone* occurs in 1316 (F.A., 154), *Hardlistone* in 1298 (In. p. m., p. 147), and *Hardeleston* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica). The first part of the name

[1] The place in Nhants. is spelt *Gretton* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The *Gretton* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 145, seems to be Girton.

represents the genitive case of the A.S. name of the original owner; but what was the exact form of that name the evidence is hardly sufficient to show. A highly probable form of the name is *Hardulf*, a later form of *Heardwulf*.

HAUXTON. Spelt *Haukestone* in 1316 (F.A. 154). The earlier spelling is *Hauekestune*, in a charter of Edward the Confessor; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; which appears in Domesday Book as *Havochestun*. *Hauek* is a later spelling of the A.S. *hafoc*, a hawk, probably used as a man's name; as to which Toller remarks that it is found in many names of places. Compare Hawkesbury, Hawksdale, Hawksdown, Hawkshead, and Hawksworth. It means "Hafoc's town."

HINXTON. The spelling *Hyngeston* occurs in the Ely Registers in 1341; *Hengeston* in 1277, in In. p. m., p. 61; and *Hengestone* in the Ramsey Chartulary. It is certainly a contraction of *Hengestestūn*, the town of Hengest; as there are several other places which present similar forms. A clear case is that of *Hengestes-īg*, now called *Hinksey*, in Berkshire. Hengest is a famous name; the literal sense is 'stallion.' I find the spelling *Henxton* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p. 267). It means "Hengest's town."

HISTON. Spelt *Histone* in 1284 (F.A. 138); *Hestona* in the Pipe Roll (1165). But it seems to be a contracted form; for D.B. has both *Histone* and *Histetone*; and I.C.C. has *Hestitona*. In the Inquisitio Eliensis (I.C.C., p. 99), a certain man is called Lemarais de Haustitona (v.r. Lemma de Hincstitona), who is elsewhere (p. 38) called Lemar*us* de Hestitona. I do not understand whether this means that the place was confused with Hinxton; or whether we may connect *Hesti-* with *Hœsta*, a name which is suggested by *Hœstan-dīc* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 209, l. 5. There is a Heston in Middlesex.

ICKLETON. As the old spelling was *Iceling-tūn*, the true suffix was *-ing-ton*. Hence this name will be considered amongst the next set; see p. 18.

KINGSTON. Spelt *Kingestone* in 1210 (R.B.); where *kinges* is the genitive of *king*, late spelling of *cyning*, a king. Domesday Book has *Chingestone*, where the *chi-* represents *ki-*, as in other instances. The correct old spelling *Cyninges-tūn* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 318, l. 3, with reference to Kingston in Surrey. It means "king's farm."

LINTON. This corresponds to the form *Lin-tūn* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 368. *Lin-* may very well be the same as *lin-* in *lin-seed*, representing the A.S. *līn*, early borrowed from Lat. *līnum*, flax. If so, the sense is "flax-enclosure." Any allusion to the Welsh *llyn*, a lake, is highly improbable. On the other hand, allusion to the A.S. *lind*, a lime-tree, is just possible. But the A.S. *lēah-tūn*, *wyrt-tūn*, both with the sense of 'garden,' show that such a compound as *līn-tūn* is what we should most expect. In fact, we find *līn-land* with the same sense; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 400, l. 5.

LONG STANTON. Stanton is the A.S. *stān-tūn*, lit. "stone-enclosure"; and is very common. The Latinised prefix *longa* occurs as early as 1302 (F.A. 148).

MALTON. There is a Malton Farm at Orwell, of which the older spelling is *Malketon*. This form occurs as early as 1279 (Hund. Rolls), and as late as in Fuller's Worthies of England. I also find *Makelton* in 1282 (In. p. m.). I can throw no light on these singular forms. Compare Macclesfield, Melksham, and perhaps *Mealcing* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 416.

MILTON. The derivation of *Milton* would seem to be obvious, viz. from *mill* and *town*. But we have the clearest evidence that the old form was really *Middleton*, as it appears in Domesday Book, and in numerous charters, &c., down to the time of Fuller. It is a very common name; there are more than 20 Middletons in various parts of England. In the case of our Middleton, the reference may be to its position between Cambridge and Waterbeach, on the way to Ely. It appears as *Mideltūn* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245.

NEWTON. Mentioned in 1302 (F.A. 141); and in a late charter in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, with the spelling *Neutun*. No explanation is needed.

RAMPTON. Spelt *Ramptone* in 1210 (R.B.). The spelling in Domesday Book is *Rantone*, which is merely a French travesty of the word, and does not much help us; but I.C.C. has *Ramtune*. These forms suggest that the *p* is an inserted letter, due to the strong emphasis on the final *mm* of the A.S. *ramm*, a ram. As to the name, compare Foxton, and especially the three Sheptons and ten Shiptons, usually meaning "sheep-town." *Ram* is quoted by Sir H. Ellis as a personal name; but if this were intended, we should expect the modern form to be Ramston. It means "ram farm."

ROYSTON. Spelt *Roystone* in 1428 (F.A. 189). This is one of the places of later origin, in which the prefix is Norman, as shown by the occurrence of the diphthong *oy*. The story has been recorded by Dugdale (Monast. Anglic. tom. 2, p. 264) and Tanner (Notitia Monastica); whence it appears that a certain Lady Roese set up a wayside cross at a certain spot, which obtained the name of *Crux Roesiæ* in Latin, and *Cruceroys* in Norman; see the index to the Ramsey Chartulary; also spelt *Cruce Reys* in 1292 (In. p. m., p. 111), and *Croyrois* in 1263 (the same, p. 25). At a later date, in the time of Henry II, Eustace de Merc founded a priory of Black Canons, near the same spot. A small town soon grew up near the priory, and obtained the name of *Roese-town* from its proximity to the cross of the Lady Roese. The *Crux Roesie* is referred to in 1316, in Feudal Aids (Record Series), i. 156, and later. Roese, otherwise Roise, Reise, or Rohaise is a feminine name, of which Miss Yonge, in her History of Christian Names, p. 204, gives two wild etymologies. It is more to the point that she gives two examples. "Rohais [Rohaise?] wife of Gilbert de Gaunt, died in 1156; and Roese de Lucy was wife of Fulbert de Dover, in the time of Henry II." *Royse* occurs as a surname in the Clergy List; and the Latinised form *Rohesia* is in the Ingoldsby

Legends. It represents (says Mr Stevenson) a continental Saxon name beginning with *Hrōth-*; possibly *Hrōthswīð*.

Saxton, Saxon Street. Saxton is now absorbed in the parish of Wood Ditton, in which there is a considerable hamlet still called Saxon Street. *Saxtone* occurs in 1284 (Feudal Aids, i. 139), and *Sextone* in Domesday Book; probably from O. Merc. *Saxan-tūn*, Saxa's enclosure, though this should rather have been represented in D.B. by *Sexetone*. The old name of the *street* may likewise have been *Saxan-strǣt*, the form *Saxan* being preserved by association with *Saxon*.

Sutton. In Domesday Book, *Sudtone*; A.S. *Sūðtūn*, lit. "south town." I may note here that the four points of the compass are often represented by names in *-ton* in various counties; as in Norton, Sutton, Easton, and Weston.

Weston Colville. I.e. "west town," as noted above. The place is quite close to West Wratting, with the same prefix. *Colville* is a family name of Norman origin. In In. p. m., p. 61, it is stated that Walter de Colevill held the manor of Weston in 1278, in the time of Edward I. The index to the Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Colville who was sheriff of Huntingdon.

Wilburton. The oldest spelling is *Wilburhtūn*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98, l. 5. The prefix is *Wilburh*, remarkable as being a feminine name only. The same prefix appears in Wilbraham, as shown at p. 24. A more correct form would be *Wilburgetūn*, where *Wilburge* is the gen. case of *Wilburh*, as in *Wilburge-hām*. It means "Wilburh's farm."

§ 3. The suffix -ington.

The next set of names includes those that end in *-ington*; which must be divided into two classes. The former is that in which the form *-ing* is original; the latter, that in which it has been substituted for some other prefix. The distinction is one that involves some difficulties; so that the results are,

to a slight extent, uncertain. As to this point, see Kemble's Saxons in England, i. 60, and the note; and the list of names containing *-ing* at p. 456 of the same volume. I have grave doubts as to the originality of *-ing* in Abington and Barrington; and even in Conington the sense is doubtful; so that these names will be considered separately.

ARRINGTON. Of this name there are two spellings. On the one hand, we find *Arington* in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33), and in 1284 (F.A. 137). But the real name must have been Arnington, since we frequently find that form, not only in 1302 (F.A. 146), but in D.B. and I.C.C., p. 110, where the form is *Erningetone*, described as being in "Wederlai" hundred, and also spelt *Ærningetune*. It was *Arnington* in 1307 (In. p. m.). This is clearly right, and the prefix is the same as in Arningford; i.e. it means "the settlement of the sons of Ærn or Earn"; where *earn* (*ærn*) originally meant "eagle." It evidently became Arrington by association with Barrington, which is not far off.

DODDINGTON. Spelt *Dodyngtone* in 1302, in Feudal Aids, i. 151; but *Dodinton* in Domesday Book, with *in* for *ing*. There are many traces of the *Doddings*, as there are five other Doddingtons, and a Doddinghurst in Essex. Hence Doddington is the "town of Doddings"; and the Doddings were the sons of *Dodda*, an A.S. name of which we have more than a dozen examples.

IMPINGTON. Some of the early spellings omit the *ng*; thus we find *Impetone* in 1302 (F.A. 148). Other spellings, all of them Norman, have only *n* for *ng*; as *Impyntone* in 1316 (F.A. 153); *Empintone* in 1210 (R.B.). Domesday Book has *Epintone*, obviously an error for *Empintone*, as above; cf. *Empintona* in I.C.C. p. 174. A late copy of a charter has *Impintun*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The change from *em* to *im* is not uncommon, whilst the change from *en* to *in* occurs several times; thus *limbeck* is a later form of *alembic*, and *think* is from A.S. *thencan*. Hence the change from *Emp-* to *Imp-* is regular, and we learn that *Emp-* is the

older form. In this way, we arrive, at any rate, at a form *Empintun*. We could not be quite sure that the *nt* is a Norman way of writing *ngt* (as is very frequently the case) but for the fortunate circumstance that the original *Emping-* is perfectly preserved in the name of Empingham in Rutlandshire; from which Kemble correctly inferred that the *Empingas* were an Old English tribe. See Kemble's Saxons in England, i. 463. Hence Impington certainly means "town of the Empings." The name *Empa* is recorded in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 440; though the MS. is late and of slight authority. There is a mention of Thomas de Normanvile, dominus de Empingham, in the Chronicon Petroburgense (Camden Society), p. 74.

Leverington. We find *Liuerington* in 1285 (Cat. A.D., vol. ii.); *Leveryngtone* in 1302 (F.A. 151); and *Leverington* in 1293 (In. p. m.). The probability that *Levering* represents a tribal name is suggested by the existence of two *Levertons* (without the *-ing*) in Notts. and Lincolnshire. The index to Kemble has *Lēoferes-haga*, i.e. "Lever's haw"; where *Lēofere* represents the A.S. *Lēof-here*, an A.S. personal name. The sense is "town of the sons of Lēofhere."

Litlington. The spelling in Domesday Book is *Lidlintone*, but later authorities have *Lytlyngtone*, *Litlyngtone* (F.A. 150, 189), and the like. I.C.C. has *Lidlingtone*, *Litlingtona*; and there is a Lidlington in Beds., which was formerly Litlington. Another spelling is *Lutlingtone*, in 1316 (F.A. 156). As the Mid. Eng. *i*, *y*, and *u* all occasionally represent an A.S. *y*, we see that the A.S. form was *Lytlinga-tūn*, i.e. "farm of the Lytlings"; from the A.S. *lytel*, "little." See Place-names of Beds. (1906), p. 58.

Oakington. This place has lost an initial h, which appears in all the older spellings; thus we find *Hokingtone* in 1284 (F.A. 138), and *Hochintone* in Domesday Book; I.C.C. has *Hokintona*. It is spelt *Hokington* in Fuller's Worthies. The sense is "town of the Hocings." *Hocing* is a tribal name,

from the personal name *Hoc* or *Hoca*. The genitive of *Hoc* occurs in *Hoces byrgels*; and that of *Hoca* in *Hocan edisc*; both in Kemble's Index. *Hoc* occurs in Bēowulf; and the *Hocings* are mentioned in the very old A.S. poem named The Traveller. The *o* is usually marked as long, which would come out as *Hook* in modern English. In order to produce the modern *Oakington*, the vowel must have been shortened at an early date, and afterwards again lengthened in the usual way. Such processes are not uncommon; and we may particularly note the curious forms *Hoggitone*, found in 1284 (F.A. 137); and *Hocchintona*, *Hockingtona* (as well as *Hokintona*) in I.C.C.

Trumpington. Well known from its mention by Chaucer, in the first line of the Reves Tale, where the Ellesmere MS. has the spelling *Trumpyngton*. The form *Trumpington* occurs in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33); though the Norman scribes of the thirteenth century usually give it as *Trumpintone*, with a vicious reduction of *ng* to *n*, as is their usual habit. It even occurs as *Trumpintūn* in a late copy of an A.S. Charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The history of the name is unknown; but we may fairly assume, with Kemble, the existence of a tribe of *Trumpingas* or Trumpings.

Wimblington. This is a place of small importance, near to Doddington. Mr Foster notes that, in the account of the monastery of Ely in Dugdale's Monasticon, there is a schedule of the properties belonging to it in 30 Henry VIII (vol. i. p. 493). Amongst these appears Doddington, and Wimblington appears as *Willmington* and *Wymelyngton*.

Of these forms, the older is *Wilmington*, which suffered metathesis and so became *Wimlington* or *Wimelington*, and afterwards *Wimblington*, with an inserted *b*. Mr Stevenson finds *Wilmyngton* (in company with Doddington) in 1387 (Cal. Pat. Roll, p. 298). It is of the same origin as Wilmington (Devon), and represents **Wil(h)elminga-tūn*, "town of the Wilhelmings," from the personal name *Wilhelm* (William).

Ickleton. Amongst the names in *-ington* we must include also Ickleton. All the early spellings give various forms of *Iklyngton*, or (in 1210) *Iclintone* (R.B.). Domesday Book has *Inchelintone* and *Hichelintone*, where *che* is equivalent to *ke*. The A.S. form is *Iceling-tūn*, "town of the Icelings," for which see Ælfhelm's Will; in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630, l. 24. *Iceling* is regularly formed from the A.S. personal name *Icel*, which occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 626; where we are told that *Cnebba* was *Iceling*, or the son of *Icel*, and *Icel* was *Eomæring*, or the son of *Eomær*. In the Life of Gūthlāc, we are told that the *Iclingas* were a Mercian family to which Gūthlāc belonged; see Bosworth's Dict., p. 585. There is an *Icklingham* in Suffolk; and it is a remarkable fact that the name of *Ickleford* in Herts. is also a contraction of *Icklingford*, as may be seen by consulting the index to the Ramsey Chartulary[1]. None of these names can by any possibility be connected, as is often gratuitously assumed, with the *Icenhild* in *Icenhilde weg* (Ichenhild-way). The reason why the *k*-sound was preserved in *Iceling* instead of its being turned into *Icheling* is simply that the *e* dropped out by contraction, giving *Icling* (as noted above).

Sawston. This also is proved, by the old spellings, to have originated from a tribal name. It was originally a word of four syllables. In 1284 we find *Sausitone* (F.A. 137), and in 1210 it is *Sausintone* (R.B.); Domesday Book has *Salsiton*; and in I.C.C. we find *Salsintona*. But even these are abbreviated forms. The Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey has *Salsingetun*, *Salsingetune*, and the Latinised form *Selsingetona* (p. 50). This variation between *a* and *e* suggests that the A.S. vowel may have been *æ*; and, if so, the corresponding A.S. form is **Sælsinga-tūn*, or "town of the Sælsings." We have no means of deciding whether this form is correct; but the suffix *-inge* or *-inga* (gen. plural from *-ing*) is sufficient to show that the reference is to the settlement of a tribe, even though we cannot be quite sure as to the spelling of the name of the tribe's progenitor.

[1] But the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey has *Iclesforde*.

ABINGTON. The form of the word is misleading. It was formerly *Abyntone* in 1302 (F.A., p. 150), and *Abintone* in the Red Book, Domesday Book, and I.C.C. As in the case of Abingdon in Berks., the modern Abing- really represents *Abban*, gen. of *Abba*, a common A.S. name. See Ælfric's Will, in Earle's Land Charters, p. 223, l. 1. There is another Abington in Northamptonshire, spelt *Abintone* in the Ramsey Chartulary. The sense is "Abba's farm."

BARRINGTON. The old spellings are *Barntone* in 1210 (R.B.), *Barentone* in 1284 (F.A. 137), *Baryngtone* in 1428 (F.A. 182). The form in Domesday Book and in I.C.C. is *Barentone*. The prefix *Baren-* answers to A.S. *Bæran*, gen. of a personal name *Bæra*. See three examples of this in Kemble's index. The sense is "Bæra's farm."

CONINGTON. The old spellings, according to Mr Foster, are *Conintone*, 1210 (R.B.), 1302 (F.A. 148), and *Conitone*, 1346, 1428 (F.A. 166, 185); also *Cunitone*, D.B. However, we find the spellings *Conington* in 1290 (In. p. m., p. 103); *Cuninctune* in the index to the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey; and *Cunningtūn* in the Will of Ælfhelm of Wratting, written in fairly good Anglo-Saxon; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630; and the land at Wratting had been granted to Ælfhelm by King Ēadgār in 974. Hence the spelling with *-ing* is well established, and there is a personal name *Cuna* from which it might be derived. Compare *Connington* in Hunts. At the same time, we cannot be quite sure that we really have here a tribal name. The prefix might represent the Icel. *konung-*, from *konungr*, a king.

§ 4. THE SUFFIX -HAM.

The next suffix to be discussed is *-ham*. It arises from two A.S. suffixes which were originally quite distinct; see the excellent articles on *Ham*, sb. (2) and *Ham*, sb. (3) in the New Eng. Dictionary; and cf. Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. p. xxvii. The two A.S. forms are (1) *ham* (with short *a*), also appearing as *hamm* and *hom*, with the sense of "enclosure" or "place fenced in," connected with the modern E. verb *to hem in*; and

(2) *hām*, modern English *home*, meaning a village or village community, often shortened to *ham* (with short *a*) when bearing the stress and preceding a consonant, as in *Hampstead* (lit. homestead), or when occurring in an unstressed position, as in *Wick-ham* (lit. village-home). As there is no distinction of form in the modern English names, the two will be taken together; they cannot always be distinguished.

Babraham. The old spellings are *Badburham* (R.B.) and *Badburgham*; Domesday Book has the latter; the full form *Badburgeham* is in I.C.C. The name is composed of known elements. The former is *Bād-*; see Sweet, O. Eng. Texts, p. 593; it occurs, e.g., in *Bād-helm*.

The latter is the common feminine suffix *-burh*, as in *Wilburhton*, Wilburton. Hence the personal name was *Bād-burh*, the name of a woman, the gen. case being *Bādburge*. The suffix would be *ham* (with short *a*), if the statement were correct which is quoted from Taylor in the New Eng. Dictionary, that *hām* (home) is not used with the name of an individual. But there are certainly some exceptions to this empirical rule, even among the place-names here considered; and it is positively contradicted by examples ending in *-haam*; see Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 426.

Badlingham; near Chippenham. So spelt in 1284; and *Badelingham* in 1302 (F.A., 136, 143). The A.S. form would be *Badelinga-hām*, "the home of the Badelings"; where *Badeling* is formed from the personal name *Badela*. The gen. case occurs in *Badelan-brōc*, lit. Badela's brook; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343, l. 19.

Balsham. Formerly *Balesham*, in Henry of Huntingdon, and in In. p. m. (1272); also *Belesham*, in 1170 and 1210 (P.R., R.B.), and in Domesday Book. Also *Bellesham*, in a charter dated 974, and apparently genuine; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 104, l. 20. *Belles and Bales* are probably variants of *Bœlles*, as in *Bœlles wæg*, Ball's way; Kemble, iii. 424, l. 10. This is the gen. case of *Bœll*, Ball, a personal name; and this form justifies the modern pronunciation.

BARHAM; near Linton. Spelt *Berkham* in 1210 (R.B.); *Bergham* in 1302, *Berugham* in 1346 (F.A., 145, 162); *Bercheham* in Domesday Book; but *Bercham* in I.C.C. The corresponding A.S. form is *Beorh-ham*, lit. "hill-enclosure." See the account of Bartlow at p. 35.

BOTTISHAM. We find *Bottesham* in 1428, *Botkesham* in 1400; *Bodkesham* in 1372 (Pedes Finium). An earlier form is *Bodekesham* in 1210 (R.B.); with slight variants at other dates; Domesday Book has *Bodichesham* likewise. A late charter has *Bodekesham*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 145. The nom. case would be *Bodec*, closely allied to the weak form *Bodeca*, of which the gen. case *Bodecan* appears in *Bodecan-lēage*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 215. The sense is "Bodec's enclosure."

CHETTISHAM; near Ely. Spelt *Chetisham* in the Ramsey Chartulary. Of this name I can find no further illustration; except that, in In. p. m., we find *Chetescumbe*, Devon, in 1292, and *Cheteswell*, Warw., in 1315–6. Perhaps it is due to an A.S. name-form *Cett*. Compare the weak form *Cetta*, as in *Cettan-trēo*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 380.

CHIPPENHAM. Spelt *Chipenham* in I.C.C.; and *Chipeham* in Domesday Book. There is a Chippenham in Wilts., of which the dat. case *Cippenhamme* occurs in a charter of Ælfred's; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 115, l. 2; spelt *Cippanhamme* in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 878. The suffix is *hamm*, an enclosure. *Cippan* is the gen. of *Cippa*, a name found once elsewhere. See the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 73. The sense is "Cippa's enclosure."

COLDHAM. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions the manor of Coldham. The derivation is obvious; from the Old Mercian *cald*, cold; and *ham*, an enclosure.

COTTENHAM. Formerly *Cotenham*, in I.C.C.; and in late A.S. Charters; *Cotenhame* in 1283 (In. p. m.). *Coten* might represent the A.S. *cotan*, gen. of *cota*, a cot or cottage; the

sense being 'cot-enclosure'; (cf. Coates and Coton;) but this would have given a long *o* in the modern form. Hence the original form should have been written *Cottan-ham*, in which case it is derived from *Cotta*, a known personal name. Even in that case, *Cotta* may once have meant "a cottar."

Downham. Formerly *Dūnham* (both vowels are marked long by Kemble, but without authority); Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 209, l. 4. From A.S. *dūn*, a down or hill, and (probably) *ham*, an enclosure.

Dullingham. Spelt *Dullingeham* in 1210 (R.B.), and in Domesday Book; *Dullingham* in 1282 (In. p. m.). But we also find *Dilin-*, as in *Dilintone*, Red Book of the Exchequer, p. 531. These answer to an A.S. form *Dyllinga-hām*, or "home of the Dyllings." We may further compare Dilham, Norfolk, and Dilton, Wilts. And see *Dull* in the N.E.D. The same prefix occurs in Dillington, Hunts.

Fordham. Spelt *Fordeham* in Domesday Book. From *ford* (gen. *forda*), a ford, and *ham*, (perhaps) an enclosure.

Haddenham. Spelt *Hadenham* in 1300 (Cat. Ancient Deeds); *Hadreham* in Domesday Book; *Hadreham*, *Hœderham*, *Hadenham* in I.C.C.; A.S. *Hœdan-hām*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98. *Hœdan* is the gen. case of the personal name *Hœda*, perhaps a variant of *Heada*; cf. *Headan scrœf* in Birch, Cart. Sax. i. 83, l. 2. Here *hām* is "home"; i.e. "Hæda's home."

Hildersham. Formerly *Hildricesham*; in Domesday Book and in the Ramsey Chartulary. From A.S. *Hilderīc*, a personal name.

Isleham. Formerly *Isilham*, 1284; *Iselham*, 1302 (F.A., 136, 143); *Yeselham*, 1321, in the Pedes Finium; *Gisleham* in Domesday Book. For A.S. *Gīslan-ham*; where *Gīslan* is the gen. case of *Gīsla*, a personal name. Compare *Gīsl-*, a common A.S. name-prefix. The A.S. *gīsel* means "a hostage"; and the initial *g*, being a mere *y*, was easily lost. See *gisel* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

NEWNHAM. In Cambridge. The spelling *Newynham* occurs in 1346 (F.A., 167), and a better form *Newenham* is in the Ramsey Chartulary. The form is due to the use of the A.S. dative, which is very common in the case of place-names, the preposition *æt* being understood. The full phrase would be *æt ðām nīwan hāme*, lit. "at the new home." Hence the *n* is a mere case-suffix, and the name has the same sense as if it were simply *Newham*. Kemble's Index gives several examples of A.S. *Nīwan-ham* as the old form of Newnham; and of A.S. *Nīwan-tūn* as the old form both of Newton and of Newington. In the form Newington the *-ing* was substituted for the *-n-* or *-in-* by association with the numerous names that end in *-ington*, so that Newing- (like Newn-) merely represents *nīwan*, the dat. of *nīwe*, new. In the case of Newnham, the suffix means "home," because we find the derived form *Nīwanhāma gemēro*; for which see Kemble's Index.

SOHAM. Formerly *Saham*, as in Domesday Book; and the *a* was long; cf. A.S. *stān* with E. *stone*. We have an English spelling of it, viz. *Sægham*, in a charter of the twelfth century; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 8. Here *æ* is a modified form of *ā*; so that the better spelling would be *Sāgham*, which would regularly produce the modern form. The etymology is from *sīg-an* (pt. t. *sāg*), to sink down, so that the literal sense would be "a *ham* or enclosure situate near a depression" or "hollow." This suits the situation, as there was once a large mere at Soham before the fens were drained (Imperial Cyclopædia). Though the word is not otherwise known in English (unless "depression" is the meaning of the unknown A.S. *sāg*, which occurs once in a doubtful passage), we have its exact counterpart in the Bavarian *saig* and the Tyrolese *sege*, *söga*, a depression or swamp; see *Saig* in Schmeller's Bavarian Dictionary. The alternative A.S. form *Sægham* will account for the M.E. form *Seham*, in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey; unless the *e* is an error for *o*, a mistake which is not uncommon.

STRETHAM. Spelt *Stratham* in I.C.C. The lit. sense is "street-ham"; an enclosure situate near an old street or

causeway. It is situate at the point where the causeway from Earith to Haddenham, continued through Wilburton, joins the road from Cambridge to Ely.

SWAFFHAM. Formerly *Swafham*, in 1210 (R.B.); *Suafam* in Domesday Book; also *Suafham* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 20. From a personal name related to the A.S. name-prefix *Swǽf-*, in which the *æ* was originally long. See further under SWAVESEY; p. 55. In the case of Swaffham Bulbeck, the name *Bulbeck* is explained by the statement in I.C.C., p. 12, that "Hugo de Bolebech" held seven and a half hides of land at Swaffham. The better spelling *Bolebec* occurs at p. 102; and this surname goes back to a Norman place-name *Bolbec*, derived from *bull* (Icel. *boli*) and *beck*, a stream. It is spelt *Bolebek* in 1284 (Feudal Aids). In 1302 we find *Swafham Prioris*, which accounts for Swaffham Prior's.

TEVERSHAM. Formerly *Teueresham*, in 1210 (R.B.); in Domesday Book it is *Teuresham* and *Teuersham*; and *Teuresham* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 23. The corresponding A.S. form would be *Teferes-ham*, as if from a nom. case *Tefer* or *Tefere*; but I find no trace of this name elsewhere, beyond the parallel form *Teversall* (perhaps Tefer's hall) in Notts. The ending *-ere* may represent the common name-suffix *-here*; and the oldest form may have been *Tēof-here*; cf. *Tēoue-lēah* and *Teobba* in Kemble's Index.

WEST WICKHAM. The A.S. name of Wickham is *Wīc-hām*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98, l. 6. From *wīc*, a village, not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *uīcus*; and *hām*, a home. The *a* is long; cf. *Wīc-hǽma*, Kemble, v. 243; l. 8.

WILBRAHAM. Spelt *Wilburham* in 1302 (F.A., 143). The prefix is the same as that which begins Wilburton; viz. the female name *Wilburh* (p. 14). The genitive of *Wilburh* was *Wilburge*; and the suffix *-e* is preserved in the spelling *Wilbure-ham* (A.D. 1156) in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The right form *Wilburgeham* is in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630.

WILLINGHAM. Formerly *Wiuelingeham*, as in Domesday Book; *Weuelingham* (misprinted *Wenelingham*) in the Ramsey Chartulary; also, in a late charter, *Uuiulingeham*, misprinted as *Uuinlingeham*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 12 from bottom. These spellings represent an A.S. *Wifelingahām*, or "the home of the Wifelings." *Wifeling* is a patronymic formed from *Wifel*, a name of which there are several examples in Kemble's Index. It was spelt *Wivelingham* as late as 1750 (W. Aldis Wright). Willingham, Linc., was also *Wyvelingham* in 1311 (In. p. m.).

WITCHAM. Formerly *Wychham*, in 1302 (F.A., 151); and *Wiceham* in Domesday Book, where *c* denotes either the sound of E. *ch* or of *ts*; cf. Witchford (p. 65). This *Wice* (*Wiche*) represents an A.S. *Wican*, gen. case of *Wica*, related to the name-prefix *Wic-*, which appears in several compounds. It is quite distinct from Wickham (above); the prefix in this case being native English. *Wice* might, however, mean "witch-elm."

§ 5. THE SUFFIX -STEAD.

This suffix is here almost unknown. Still, there is an Olmstead Green, and Hall, close to Castle Camps.

OLMSTEAD. We find *Olmestede* in 1302 (Feudal Aids), and *Olmisted* in 1316 (in the same). The latter part of the word is *stead*, a place, A.S. *stede*. The spelling is not old enough to fix the former part of it with certainty. The word which most resembles it is Du. *olm*, an elm, which is merely borrowed from the Lat. *ulmus*. The form *ulm-trēow*, elm-tree, occurs in A.S.; and it is possible that *Olm-* represents this *ulm*.

Lysons says that "Olmsted Hall was at first in the family of Olmsted." But the family was named from some place.

Compare Elmstead, Essex, and Elmsted, Kent.

§ 6. THE SUFFIX -WORTH.

The A.S. *worth* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm; see Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict., p. 1267. It is closely allied to the A.S. *weorth*, worth, value; and may be

taken in the sense of "property" or "holding" or "farm." There are several names with this suffix.

Boxworth. Formerly *Bokesworth*, in 1256 (In. p. m.); in 1284 (F.A.); and in the Ramsey Chartulary (index). Domesday Book has *Bochesuuorde*, with *ch* for the sound of *c* or *k*, and *d* for that of *th*. The Old English prefix would be *Boces* (with *c* as *k*), gen. of *Boc*. *Boc* was perhaps a Norse name rather than A.S.; as it answers better to Icel. *bokkr*, Swed. *bock*, a he-goat, than to the rare A.S. *buc*, a buck, or he-deer; though we find the spelling *Bukeswrth* in 1228 (Pedes Finium).

Duxford. The suffix *-ford* is quite modern, and a substitution for *-worth*[1]; we find *Dokisworth* as late as in Fuller's Worthies; so also *Dokesworth* in 1211 (R.B.), *Dukesworth* in 1284 (F.A.), and *Dochesuuorde* in Domesday Book. The corresponding A.S. prefix would be *Duces*, gen. of *Duc*, a name not otherwise known, unless it be related to *Duce-mannes-tūn* and *Duceling-dūn* in Kemble's Index, the latter being the modern Ducklington, in Oxfordshire. It is certainly not the same word as the modern *duck*, because the A.S. form of that word (which is extremely rare) was *dūca*; and the gen. *dūcan* could not have produced a form in *-es*. Cf. *Duccen-hulle* in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 95. It means "Duc's farm."

Elsworth. Formerly *Ellesworthe* in 1316, *Elesworth* in 1284 (F.A.); and *Elesworde* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form is *Elesworð*, in late and perhaps spurious charters; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 107, iv. 145. The Ramsey Chartulary gives the prefix as *Eles-*, *Elis-*, *Elles-*, *Ellis-*. This we may compare with *Elles-beorh* in Kemble's Index, and with *Ælles-burne*; from the nom. *Ælle*, oldest form *Ælli* (Sweet).

Similarly, Elsham, Linc., was *Ellesham* in 1266 (In. p. m.).

Kneesworth. Spelt *Knesworthe* in 1316, and *Kneesworthe* in 1346 (F.A.); *Knesworth* in 1276 (Rot. Hund. p. 51). *Knee*

[1] The intermediate form *Duxforth* occurs in the time of Henry VIII; in Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii. 504.

(A.S. *cnēo*) is not recorded as a name. The A.S. *cnēo* means not only "knee," but "a generation."

LOLWORTH. Spelt *Lulleworth* in 1284 (F.A.); *Lolesuuorde* in Domesday Book; *Lollesworth* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The same name as *Lulworth* in Dorsetshire. Kemble's Index has also the forms *Lulleswyrð* and *Lullesbeorh*. The Domesday *Loles* represents the A.S. *Lulles*, gen. case of *Lull*, a known name. It means "Lull's farm."

PAMPISFORD. As in the case of Duxford, the suffix *-ford* is here quite modern; I find *Pampsworth* in 1851. Fuller has *Pampisworth*, and it is the same in all early spellings, which only vary as to the use of *-es* and *-is*. Domesday Book has *Pampesuuorde*. The name *Pamp*, here implied, is a remarkable one, but no more is known about it. Perhaps it is of Scandinavian origin; compare Dan. dialect *pamper*, a short, thick-set person (Molbech), and the Lincolnshire *pammy*, thick and fat (Halliwell)[1]. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions an *Alan Pampelin*. It means "Pamp's farm."

PAPWORTH. Spelt *Papeworde* in Domesday Book. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Pappenwrthe* and *Pappeworthe*. *Pape* or *Pappen* corresponds to A.S. *Pappan*, gen. case of *Pappa*. Cf. *Papan-holt*, Birch, C. S. ii. 246, l. 2. Moreover, there is a *Papcastle* in Cumberland. It means "Pappa's farm."

STETCHWORTH. Spelt *Stewcheworthe* in 1383 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, vol. ii.); *Stiuicesuuorde* and *Stuuicesworde* in Domesday Book. In late charters we find the Anglo-French spellings *Steuicheswrðe*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 23; and *Steuecheworde*, iv. 269, l. 4 from bottom; also *Stivecheswrthe* in 1235 (P.F.). The forms in Domesday Book imply an A.S. *Styfices*, gen. of *Styfic*, or else *Styfeces*, gen. of *Styfec*[2]. The latter is a

[1] The local name is *Paanza*, regularly shortened from *Pamp's'orth*; like *Saapsa* from *Sawbridgeworth*. The form *Pampisford* would have been shortened to *Paanzfud* or *Ponzfud*, or *Ponsfud*, with persistent *f*.

[2] As seen in *Styfec-ing* in Kemble's Index, and in *Styvec-lēa* (Stukeley) in Thorpe, Diplom. p. 382, note 6.

known form, and further accounts for the weak form *Stuca* (shortened from *Styfeca*); and consequently for *Stukeley* in Hunts., of which an old spelling was *Stiveclea* (index to Ramsey Chartulary); cf. p. 27 above, note 2. It means "Styfec's farm."

WENTWORTH. Spelt *Wynteworthe* in 1428 (F.A.), *Wynteworth* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica); and *Winteworde* in Domesday Book. *Winte* answers to A.S. *Wintan*, gen. case of *Winta*. *Winta* was the name of a son of *Wōden*; see Sweet, Old Eng. Texts, p. 171, first line. It means "Winta's farm."

§ 7. THE SUFFIXES -WICK AND -COTE.

Another suffix similar in sense to *-ham* and *-ton* is *wick*. This is not a native word; the A.S. *wīc*, a dwelling, being merely borrowed from the Lat. *uīcus*, a village. It appears as the former part of a compound in *Wick-ham* (p. 24); but it is also a suffix, as in *Ben-wick*, *Hard-wick*, and *West-wick*.

BENWICK. Spelt *Benewik* in the Ramsey Chartulary. We have two Benningtons, viz. in Lincolnshire and Hertfordshire, where *Benning* is presumably a patronymic. We may therefore derive *Ben-wick* from the A.S. *Bennan*, gen. case of *Benna*, a known name. There is also a name *Beonna*, which is probably a mere variant of the former; see, however, the Crawford Charters, p. 64. It means "Benna's abode."

HARDWICK. Spelt *Herdwice* in 1171 (R.B.); *Herdewic* in the Ramsey Chartulary; *Hardwic* in a late charter, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; and in I.C.C. *Herdewic* answers to the A.S. *Heorde-wīc* (Kemble); from *heorde*, gen. of *heord*, a herd or flock. There are several other parishes of the same name.

WESTWICK. *Westuuiche* in Domesday Book. The prefix, as in Westley, is the A.S. *west*, west. It is near Oakington.

COATES. There is a place in Cambs. named *Coates*, lying to the E. of Whittlesea. This is the same word as M.E. *cotes*,

the pl. of *cote*, a cot; and means "a collection of cottages." For its use as a suffix, see below. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Robert de Cotes. Cf. COTON, at p. 8.

CALDECOTT, or CALDECOTE. The latter form occurs in Fuller's Worthies and in Domesday Book. It is not derived from the O. Mercian *cald* (A.S. *ceald*), cold, and *cote*, a cot, in the nominative case, but from the formula *æt thām caldan cotan*, where the preposition *æt* was originally prefixed, with the dative case following it. This is how *caldan cotan*, Mid. Eng. *caldë cotë*, has produced the modern Eng. trisyllabic form. Moreover, the *a* in M.E. *caldë* was not lengthened as in the nominative *cāld* (modern E. *cold*), but remained short as at first. This was because the final *e* in *caldë* was not dropped. The cottage was no doubt called "cold" from being in an exposed situation.

§ 8. THE SUFFIXES -BRIDGE, -HITHE, -LOW, AND -WELL.

Besides the suffixes *-ham* and others which mark the abode of the primitive tillers of the soil, there are others which relate to artificial constructions, such as *-bridge*, *-hithe*, *-low*, and *-well*; which may be considered together.

The *bridges* are Cambridge, Pearl's Bridge, and Sturbridge.

CAMBRIDGE. In an article published at length in my book entitled A Student's Pastime, pp. 393—401, I showed how the name *Cambridge* is practically modern, being corrupted, by regular gradations, from the original A.S. form which had the sense of *Granta-bridge*; and consequently that the town is not derived from the name of the river *Cam*, which is modern and artificial, but conversely, the name of the *Cam* was, in the course of centuries, evolved out of the name of the town. Had it been otherwise, the name of the town would have been *Camm-bridge*, pronounced so that *Camm* would rhyme with *ham* and *jam*. As it is, the *Cam* is modernised from the Latin *Cāmus* of the 16th century. The easiest way for those who are not much acquainted with phonetic laws to understand

this rather difficult point, is to observe the chronological facts. And for this purpose, the successive forms of the name are given below, with sufficient dates.

The original name was *Caer-grant*, as in Nennius, meaning "the fort (or *castra*) beside the *Grant*"; the *Grant* being, presumably, a Celtic river-name, of unknown meaning.

The Anglo-Saxon and Middle-English forms now follow. Those with *Gr-* come first.

[*Granta-caestir*; Beda, Eccl. Hist., bk. iv. c. 19 (8th century). Here *caestir* is a Northern E. form of the Lat. *castra*, used as equivalent to the Welsh *caer*. This, however, produced the modern form *Grantchester*, not the name with the *bridge*. Nevertheless, we must remember that Grantchester was really the old name of Cambridge itself, and was only assigned to the village *now* so called in very recent times; see this discussed under the heading Grantchester.]

Grante-brycge (dat. case); A.S. Chronicle, under the date 875. The late Laud MS. has *Grantan-*, as though it were the gen. case of *Granta*, the river-name treated as a *weak* sb. in *-a*; and *brycge* is the dat. of A.S. *brycg*, a bridge.

Grantanbricge; in a late copy of a charter dated 970; Kemble, iii. 61.

Grantebrigiae, gen. sing. of a Latinised form; in a late copy of a charter dated 948; Kemble, ii. 282.

Grantabrycg-scīr, i.e. Cambridge-shire; A.S. Chronicle, under the date 1010.

Grentebrige; in Domesday Book.

Grentebrigia (Latinised); Pipe Roll, A.D. 1130.

Grantebrigesyre, Cambridge-shire; in Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Arnold, p. 9; first half of the twelfth century. (But a later MS. has *Kantebrigesire*. The false spelling *syre* is due to a Norman scribe, writing *s* for *sh*.)

Grantabric, *Granthebrige*; Simeon of Durham, in the Record Series, pp. 82, 111; twelfth century. He also has the phrase *supra Grentam fluvium*.

Grauntebruggescire; Southern English Legendary, E.E.T.S.; p. 347, l. 66. About A.D. 1290.

Grauntebrugge-ssire (with *ss* for *sh*); Rob. of Gloucester,

l. 132; about A.D. 1330 (date of the MS.). A later MS. (about 1400) has *Cambrugge-schire.*

Grauntbrigge, used as a personal name; Iohannes de Grauntbrigge, Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 275; A.D. 1283. For examples of similar names, see the Patent Rolls, &c. The latest mention of a "Iohannes de Grauntbrigge, qui obiit sine herede," is in the Patent Rolls, p. 242; date, the second year of Henry IV; A.D. 1400–1. After this date, the form with initial *Gr-* seems to have perished, being superseded by the forms beginning with *C.*

Historically, the form with *Gr-* was in *sole* use down to A.D. 1140; and in partial use down to A.D. 1400.

The earliest date in which the initial *C* appears is in a document dated 1142. The form is *Cantebruggescir*; see Notes and Queries, 8 S. viii. 314. The use of *C* for *Gr* arose from a Norman mispronunciation; the dropping of the *r,* in particular, is clearly due to a wish to avoid the use of *gr* and *br* in the same word. This form soon became fashionable and common.

Cantabrigia (Latinised); Pipe Rolls, 1150–61.

Cantebrigia; Ramsey Chartulary, iii. 243; after 1161.

Cantebrugescir; Rotuli Chartarum in Turri; vol. i. pars 1, 80. A.D. 1200.

Cantebrug; Close Rolls, i. 381; A.D. 1218.

Cantebrigg as a personal name; "Roger de Cantebrigg"; In. p. m., i. 30; A.D. 1267.

Cauntebrigge as a personal name; "Iohannes de Cauntebrigge," as compared with "Iohannes de Grauntbrigge" above; Spelman, Glossarium, p. 544.

It is a peculiarity of Anglo-French that it frequently turns *ant* into *aunt*; this was due to the fact that *a* (before *n*) was sometimes nasal. It also turned the Lat. *camera* (O. French *chambre*) into *chaumbre,* or (without the nasal effect) into *chaambre,* with long Italian *a.* This is why the *a* in *chāmber* is long in modern English. The point of this remark will soon be seen.

Cantebrigge, in an excellent MS. (the Ellesmere MS.) of Chaucer's Cant. Tales; Reves Tale, first line.

Canbrigge (and of course also *Caunbrigge*), by the loss of *t*

between *n* and *b*, where it is hard to sound it; Early Eng. Wills, ed. Furnivall, p. 105. A.D. 1436.

Cambrugge (with *mb* for *nb*) in a rather late MS. (the Lansdowne MS.) of Chaucer's Cant. Tales; Reves Tale, first line. After A.D. 1400. So in Rob. Glouc., l. 132 (MS. B.).

Kawmbrege; Paston Letters, i. 82; A.D. 1449.

Caumbrege; Paston Letters, i. 422; A.D. 1458.

Cambryge (with *ā* for *au*); Paston Letters, ii. 91; A.D. 1462. And this has produced the modern form, with long *a* as in *chamber*.

The following points should be noted: (1) the name always begins with *Gr* down to 1140; (2) the initial *C* is first known in 1142; (3) the *t* dropped out after 1400, changing *n* into *m*; (4) the first three letters appear as *Cam-*, for the first time, after A.D. 1400. And all the while, the river was the Granta, though an attempt was made to call it the *Cante* in 1372; Willis and Clark, Hist. of Cambridge, i. 112. The name Granta appears repeatedly, and is still in use. "The river Grant from Cambridge" occurs in 1617[1]. At last, when the name *Cambridge* was well established (after 1500), scholars, writing in Latin, coined the name *Cāmus* for the river, which they also sometimes spelt *Chāmus*. The Cambridge Review for Nov. 14, 1895, quoted at p. 74 some verses by Giles Fletcher, prefixed to an edition of Demosthenes published in 1571, containing the line—

Accipe quae nuper Chami fluentis ad undam.

Hence Camden says:—"alii *Grantam, Camum* alii nuncupant"; A.D. 1586.

The English name *Cam* is later still; first appearing about 1600. In 1610, Speed's map of Cambridge shows the "Cam"; and in 1613, Drayton mentions "Cam, her daintiest flood, long since intituled Grant"; Polyolbion, song xxi. l. 107. Cf. "Grant or Cam"; Conybeare's Cambs., p. 249.

As late as 1831, I find in Pigot's Atlas, the remark that "the principal rivers of Cambridgeshire are the Ouse, and the *Granta* or *Cam*."

[1] See The Fenland, Past and Present, p. 205.

It is worth mentioning that Camden was sadly misled when he identified Cambridge with the Latin *Camboritum*[1] (or *Camboricum*) owing to the similarity (!) of the names. The identification may be correct on *other* grounds; but the argument from similarity of sound is naught. It is quite impossible that the Latin *Camboritum* can be allied, as to its name, with the *Granta*; whilst, as for the *Cam*, it was never heard of, even as a part of the name of the town, till about 1400, at least a thousand years after the Roman name *Camboritum* was first in use, and many centuries after it had been wholly forgotten. And the talk about the river's crookedness, merely because the modern Welsh word *cam* means crooked, is quite beside the purpose.

Pearl's Bridge; near Downham. Of this name I find no history. It is doubtless modern.

Sturbridge. Also Stourbridge, as if it were "the bridge over the Stour."

The celebrated "Stourbridge Fair," which suggested "Vanity Fair," was held in a field bounded on the North by the Cam, and on the East by the "Stour," a tiny rivulet which runs under a bridge on the Newmarket road, very near the railway to Waterbeach. See Conybeare's Cambs., p. 241. But it is to be feared that the name of this rivulet (like that of the Cam) is modern, and was invented to suit the exigencies of popular etymology. For in 1279 the name was written *Steresbreg'* (Rot. Hund. ii. 438); as if from a personal name *Stēr*. Cf. Searle's Onomasticon; and A.S. *Stēor*, a steer or ox. At a later date the *s* dropped out; we find "*Sterrebridge* apud Cantab." in the Patent Rolls, A.D. 1418–9; p. 267, col. 2. Cf. also *Steresgarth* (Linc.) in 1348–9; Abbreviatio Rot. Originalium, p. 196. It means "Steer's bridge." See also p. 78.

[1] *C* and *t* are often confused, and *Camboricum* gives no sense; whereas *-ritum* corresponds to the O. Breton *rit*, W. *rhyd*, a ford (Stokes, who gives Augusto-ritum and Ritu-magus as examples).

Hithe.

Examples of Hithe occur in Clayhithe, Aldreth, and Earith. The name Clayhithe sounds somewhat modern, as the latter syllable preserves its distinctness. Still, it appears as *Cleyhethe* in 1284 (F.A. 135) and in 1279 (Rot. Hund. vol. ii.).

Aldreth. Aldreth lies to the south of Haddenham and to the north of a tributary of the Ouse; a long causeway here crosses the fenland towards Balsar's (or Belsar's) Hill. It was on the south-west shore of the Isle of Ely, and may very well have been named from possessing a *hithe*, which Kemble defines as "a place that receives a ship on its landing, a low shore, fit to be a landing-place for boats." It is only some four miles in a direct line from Earith, which was named for a similar reason, and is situate close to the Ouse itself. The form of the word is a little difficult. The former part of it appears as *Alre-* in the Pipe Rolls for 1170, 1171, and 1172, also as *Alder-*, *Alther-* in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia (see Index). Perhaps these forms answer to A.S. *alor-*, *alr-*, *alre-*, combining forms of *alr*, *alor*, M.E. *alder*, an alder-tree. As to the latter part of the word, we find, in the Ramsey Chronicle, *Alder-hithe*, *Alder-hethe*, *Alther-hethe*, and the Latinised forms *Alre-heda*, *Alder-heda*. The Pipe Rolls have *Alre-heda*, *Alre-hedra* (with *r* wrongly inserted), and *Alre-hudra* (for *Alre-huda*); and since the final *-da* is a Latin substitution for *-the*, the form of the suffix is really *-hithe*, *-hethe*, *-huthe*. These represent the A.S. *hȳð*, a hithe, of which later forms were *hithe* and *huthe* (regularly), and the late Kentish *hēð*, which gives *hethe* (Sievers, A.S. Grammar, 1898, § 154). The last form can be accounted for by the fact that scribes were not unfrequently taught in Kent. On the whole, the probability of this interpretation seems correct; especially as the forms for Earith are similar. See the note on the boundaries of the Isle of Ely, at p. 54.

Earith. Spelt *Erhith* in Sprott's Chronicle. Obviously the same name as Erith in Kent, which is written *Earhyth* in

Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 44; and *Earhið* (both vowels accented) in the same, vi. 127. The Ramsey Chronicle has the spellings *Herhethe, Herhythe, Herithe, Erithe, Erethe,* with reference to Earith in Cambs.; and as the initial *H* is merely due to the freak of a Norman scribe, these can be reduced to *Erhythe, Erithe, Erhethe, Erethe.* And as in the case of the name above, the *y* and *i* represent the Wessex *ȳ* in *hȳð*, and the *e* represents the Kentish *ē*. As to *Ēar*, the sense is known; it was the name of one of the Runic letters, and is used in a poem to signify "earth"; a word rare in A.S., but very common in Scandinavian. For, as the A.S. *ēa* is etymologically equivalent to the Icel. *au*, we find a more exact sense by looking out *aurr* in the Icelandic Dictionary, from which we learn that it means wet clay, wet soil, or mud; with reference, perhaps, to the silt deposited by the salt water of the Wash. The sense, in fact, is fairly given by "muddy landing-place" or "silt-hithe." At the same time, the Dan. *ör* signifies "gravel," and the Swed. dial. *ör* means "a sandy shore"; both are common in place-names. Elsinore is, properly, *Helsing-ör*. The modern spelling of *Earith* simulates A.S. *ēa-rīð*, both members meaning "stream"; but the old spellings show that it was a *hithe*.

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The suffix -low.

A *low* or *law* (A.S. *hlāw*) is a mound or rising ground; sometimes natural and sometimes artificial. In the latter case, it generally means a burial mound or barrow. It occurs in *Bartlow, Tadlow,* and *Triplow.*

Bartlow. A modern form; formerly *Berklow*, as in Fuller's Worthies; spelt *Berklawe* in 1303 (In. p. m.); *Berkelowe* in 1316; *Berklowe* in 1428 (F.A., 155, 192). As to the sense of *Berk-*, we have only to refer to the various spellings of Barham (p. 21), in order to see that *Berk* was a Norman form due to the A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a tumulus, or a funeral barrow. It is clear that we have here an instance in which an old name has been explained and translated by one that happened to be better understood by

the particular people who renamed it. The literal sense is "barrow," repeated in a different form. It may be noted that Barham Hall is near Bartlow, and that there are conspicuous tumuli in the neighbourhood.

TADLOW. The old spelling is *Tadelowe*, in 1302 (F.A.); also *Tadelawe* in the same year (In. p. m.). Domesday Book has *Tadelai*, where *lai* is an incorrect rendering of the Old English sound; indeed, I.C.C. has *Tadeslawe*. The suffix *-low* means "funeral mound" or tumulus, as before. The prefix *Tade* represents the A.S. *Tādan*, as seen again in *Tādanlēah*, now Tadley, in Hants.; see Kemble's Index. *Tādan* is the gen. case of the personal name *Tāda* or *Tada*; for the length of the vowel is not quite certain. It is perhaps related to the *tad-* in *tad-pole*, and to A.S. *tādige*, a toad. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a tenant named *Edric Tode*.

TRIPLOW. We find the old spellings *Trippelowe* in 1276 (Rot. Hund. i. 52), and *Trippelawe* in 1302 (F.A.); Domesday Book has *Trepeslau*; I.C.C. has *Trepeslau*, *Treppelau*. A late A.S. Charter has *Tripelau* (an Anglo-French spelling), misprinted *Tripelan*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. *Trippe* represents an A.S. *Trippan*, gen. of *Trippa*, a personal name of which there is no other record. The tumulus at Triplow is marked on the Ordnance Map. The occasional spelling *Thriplow* (with *Th*) seems to be a Norman eccentricity, like our present spelling of *Thames*; cf. *Thofte* for *Toft*, p. 75.

THE SUFFIX -WELL.

The following names end in *-well*, viz. Barnwell, Burwell, Knapwell, Orwell, Outwell, Snailwell, Upwell. They refer to the word *well* in its usual sense.

BARNWELL. The old spelling is *Bernewell*, in the time of Henry III and later. Somewhat earlier is *Beornewelle*, in a late copy of a charter dated 1060; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 383. So also in the Ramsey Chartulary. The prefix has nothing to

do with the A.S. *bearn*, a child, as has often, I believe, been suggested[1]; but represents *Beornan*, gen. of *Beorna*, a pet-name for a name beginning with *Beorn-*. It is worth noting that, as appears from Kemble's Index, the prefix *beorn*, a warrior, occurs at least nine times in place-names, whilst *bearn*, a child, does not occur at all. And again, the prefix *Beorn-* occurs in more than 200 instances in Searle's Onomasticon; whereas the occurrence of *Bearn* is rare, and perhaps doubtful. The difference between the words, which are quite distinct, is admirably illustrated in the New Eng. Dict., under the words *berne* and *bairn*. The sense is "Beorna's well."

BURWELL. Spelt *Burewelle* in Domesday Book; *Burgewelle* in 1346 (F.A.); *Burewelle* in a late copy of the charter of 1060; Thorpe, Diplom. 383. It is to be compared with *Buregwell*, *Burhwylla*, *Byrgwylla* in Kemble's Index. Thus the prefix is *burge*, gen. case of the A.S. *burh*, a borough, a fort; which probably stood on the spot where King Stephen afterwards constructed a castle; cf. Conybeare, Hist. Cambs. p. 114.

But I.C.C. has *Buruuelle*, as if the original were simply *burh-wylle*, "borough-well." The difference is slight.

KNAPWELL. Formerly *Cnapwelle*, in 1330 (Cat. Ancient Deeds, vol. 2); Domesday Book has *Chenepewelle*, where the initial *Ch* represents *K*, and the following *e* is inserted merely to enable the unfortunate Norman to pronounce the initial *Kn*, A.S. *Cn*. For the spelling *Cnapenwelle*, see the footnote no. 12 to Thorpe, Diplom. p. 383; and compare *Cnapenewelle*, *Cnappewelle*, in the Ramsey Chartulary (index). The prefix represents A.S. *Cnapan*, gen. case of *Cnapa*, a known name. The spelling *Cnapenwelle* shows that it is not from A.S. *cnœp* (gen. *cnœppes*), a hill-top. It means "Cnapa's well."

ORWELL. Formerly *Orewelle*, in 1284 (F.A.); the form *Norwelle* (in 1210, R.B.) is due to a misapprehension of the phrase *atten Orewelle*, "at the Orewelle," which is a common formula in Middle English. Domesday Book has *Oreuuelle*,

[1] See the highly imaginative passage to this effect, quoted in Conybeare's History, App. p. 291.

also *Orduuelle*, *Oreduuelle*; but the *d* is a Norman insertion, and may be neglected; cf. *Oreuuella* in I.C.C. The prefix is the A.S. *ōran*, gen. case of *ōra*, a border, edge, brink, or margin; which, as Prof. Toller notes, is common in place-names, though it usually comes at the end rather than at the beginning. Still we have *Oran-weg* in Kemble's Index; and such place-names as Or-cop, Heref.; Or-ford, Suff., Or-ton, Cumb.; and Ore, standing alone, in Sussex, also spelt Oare, as in Kent. The sense is "well beside the brink."

Out-well. I.e. the well lying just outside the village. From A.S. *ūt*, out.

Snail-well. Compounded of *snail* and *well*, as the old spellings show. Mr Foster gives *Sneilwella* (1169, P.R.); *Sneyllwelle* (1441, Cat. Anc. Deeds, vol. 2); *Sneilewelle* (1302), *Sneylwelle* (1316), *Snayllewelle* (1284), *Snaylewell* (1428, F.A.). A late copy of a charter of Edward the Confessor has *Sneille-welle*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; cf. *Snegeluuelle* in I.C.C. We may be reminded that many place-names were conferred for trivial reasons. The false spelling *Snellewelle* in Domesday Book has misled some writers, who have referred it to *Snell* as a man's name, as in *Snelston*, Derbyshire, where the inserted *s* is significant. But even the modern pronunciation is sometimes more correct than Domesday Book; as several examples show. It was not till the end of the thirteenth century that the Normans at last controlled the spelling of English. I may add that the small river flowing from this place is now called the River Snail.

Upwell. From *up* and *well*; a well that is above the path-way. Compare Up-ham, Up-wood, and the 24 Up-tons.

§ 9. The suffixes camp, chester, dike, hale, hirn, lode, port, reth, ware.

Besides the above, there are other suffixes referring to other artificial features, which may be here noticed; such as *camp, chester, dike, hale, hirn, lode, port, reth, ware.*

CAMP. Our word *camp*, in the sense of encampment, is comparatively modern in literature, and due to the Italian *campo*; see the New Eng. Dict. The A.S. Dict. only gives *camp* in the sense of "battle," the sense of "encampment" being denoted by *camp-stede*. Nevertheless, the A.S. *camp*, in place-names, and there only, has also the sense of "open field" or "plain ground"; a sense which was borrowed immediately from the Lat. *campus*. This is proved by the occurrence in Kemble's Index of the form *Campsǽtena gemǽro*, which Bosworth's Dictionary does not notice; it cannot have any other sense than "boundaries of the settlers in the *camp*" or "field." The sense of "battle" is here impossible. So also in *Todan camp*; Birch, C. S. ii. 585, l. 8.

That the word *camp* (as a place-name) is old, is proved by its occurrence as *Campes* in I.C.C., and by the characteristic Norman spelling *Caumpes* in 1302 (F.A.), with reference to Shudy Camps. We also find, with reference to Shudy Camps, the forms *Schude Camp*, 1284, *Schode Caumpes*, 1302 (F.A.). Compare also the name *Martin de Campo*, in the Ramsey Chartulary.

CASTLE-CAMPS; i.e. "castle fields." It requires no further illustration.

SHUDY CAMPS. Spelt *Schodecaump* in 1310 (In. p. m.). *Shudy* is said (in the Hist. Cambs., 1851) to have been the name of a family who once possessed the manor; but it arose, nevertheless, from the name of some place. The variation from *u* to *o* in the spellings *Schude*, *Schode*, shows that the *u* was originally short. Indeed, the fondness of Norman scribes for writing *o* instead of short *u* is notorious; we all write *monk* to this day instead of *munk*. Moreover, the modern pronunciation shows the same thing; for a long *u* would have produced a modern *ow*, as in *cow* from *cū*. As the M.E. *u* not unfrequently represents the A.S. *y*, the A.S. form (without the suffix) would be *scydd*. This form is given by Toller, with a difficult quotation from Kemble's Charters. He proposes the sense "alluvial ground"; and correctly equates it to G. *schutt*.

We have, in fact, some choice of senses; the E. Friesic *schudde* (like Du. *schadde*) means "a sod, a piece of turf"; the Low G. *schudde* means "alluvial soil"; and the G. *schutt* means "a bank of earth, a mound," or sometimes "rubble." My guess is that *Shudy* originally referred to some peculiarity of the soil of some (unknown) place. There was a *Shudeford* in Devon (In. p. m., p. 71).

CHESTER. This represents the A.S. *ceaster*, borrowed from the Latin *castra*, a camp. The sole examples are Chester-ton and Grant-chester. The latter means the camp beside the Granta. CHESTERTON is spelt *Cestretone* in Domesday Book, where *Ce* denotes the sound of E. *Che*; and conversely, the Norman *Che* denotes E. *Ke*, as already shown. There is a Chesterton in Warwickshire which shows the true A.S. spelling *Ceaster-tūn*; see Kemble's Index.

As for GRANTCHESTER, the A.S. spelling *Grantaceaster* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 58, l. 4. The charter is probably spurious as far as the Latin part of it is concerned; but it is worth notice that the phrase "in prouincia Grantaceaster" obviously means Cambridgeshire. The spelling *Granteceaster* occurs in section 3 of the Life of St Guthlac, ed. Goodwin, p. 20, where the river is called the *Grante*; and the passage is so curious that I quote Goodwin's translation. "There is in Britain a fen of immense size, which begins from the river *Grante* not far from the *ceaster*, which is named *Granteceaster*. There are immense marshes, now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, and also many islands, and reeds, and hillocks, and thickets; and with manifold windings wide and long it continues up to the north sea." But there is a far older reference in Beda, Eccl. Hist. iv. 19 :—"uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quandam desolatam...quae lingua Anglorum *Grantacaestir* uocatur"; see the ed. by Mayor and Lumby, p. 128, l. 28. All these forms refer to the original name of Cambridge itself; the fact being that the application of it to the village *now* so called is due to an absurd mistake.

In a passage in Lysons' Hist. of Cambridgeshire, p. 202, it is noted that Walter de Merton gave to Merton College, Oxford,

a certain "manerium de *Grauntesethe*"; and it has often, I believe, been pointed out that this form relates to the modern Grantchester. Such is the fact; for *-sethe* is merely a Normanised form of *-sete*, which represents the A.S. *sǣte*, "settlers." Mr Foster has noted the spellings *Grantecete* (1284), *Gransete* (1302), *Graunsete* (1428), in F.A., 137, 146, 194. I find in Domesday Book *Granteseta*, *Grantesete*; and *Grenteseta* in I.C.C., p. 70. In 1285, I find the spelling *Granzete* (In. p. m.), with the Norman *z* for *ts*, representing *Grantsete*. It is clear that the old name of the village now called Grantchester originally meant "settlers beside the Granta"; and appeared as *Graunsete* (variant of *Gran-set-ë*, in three syllables) as late as 1428. But at a later date, an *r* was added, turning the form which should have been shortened to *Granset* into a new form *Granceter* (by confusion with such forms as Exeter, Wroxeter, and the like). This form *Granceter* will be found in Speed's map of Cambridgeshire (C. A. S. Proceedings, No. xlv. 1905, p. 113) dated 1620, and in Camden's map dated 1626 (p. 116). But in Morden's map dated 1701 (p. 129) we find the spelling *Granchester*, after which the *n* became *nt*, and the transformation was complete[1]. It is an instance of meddling pedantry.

DIKE. This has already occurred in the name Ditton. I find in Conybeare's Cambridgeshire, p. 14, a reference to the Brand Ditch, the Brent Ditch, the Fleam Dike, and the Devil's Dike. The explanation of the names Brand and Brent, as meaning "burnt," is incorrect. The fact is that Brand Ditch clearly stands for Brant Ditch, the *t* followed by *d* becoming *d* by assimilation. And Brant is a mere variety of Brent; both words mean "steep," and are explained in the New English Dictionary. The reference is to the remarkably steep sides of the dikes. The phrase "highe bonkkes and brent," i.e. "high and steep banks," occurs in Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 2165; and Ascham, in his Toxophilus (ed. Arber, p. 58) speaks of "a brante hyll-syde." The A.S. for "burnt" never takes the form *brent*, which is merely Middle English.

[1] This matter was thoroughly explained in my paper entitled "Grantchester and Cambridge," published for the Society in Vol. xiv. p. 111 of the Communications.

Neither has the FLEAM DIKE any connexion with "flame," which is a foreign word, unknown in England before 1300. There is a Cambridgeshire hundred, called FLENDISH, which is merely a variant of the same word. The old spellings (P.R., F.A.) are *Flemedich* (1158), *Flemesdich* (1284), *Flemdiche* (1302, 1401). By the action of the *d* on the preceding *m*, the last became *Flendiche* in 1428; and the latter syllable was turned into *-dish* at a still later date. *Diche* is, of course, our modern *ditch*, a mere variant of *dike*; see the New English Dictionary. And it is obvious that the Mid. Eng. *Fleme* is, in modern E., *Fleam*. The spellings in Domesday Book present a startling variation. It gives the name of the hundred as *Flamingdice* and *Flamiding* or *Flammiding*. The latter forms are obviously incorrect, and due to putting the *ng* in the wrong syllable when attempting to pronounce the word; the right form is clearly *Flaming-dice*, where *dice* is the Norman spelling of *diche*, the M.E. form of *ditch*. Cf. also *Flamencdic*, *Flammincdic*, in I.C.C. Hence the original form of the prefix was certainly *Flamenc* in the time of the Conqueror. This word is not A.S., but O.Fr. *Flamenc*, represented by the Late Lat. *Flamingus*, a Fleming. Ducange quotes an example from a French document dated 1036, or thirty years before the Conquest; and the Old Norse form *Flœmingi* is given in Vigfusson[1]. Why it received this name, we have of course no means of knowing. The subsequent change to *Fleam Dike* was probably due to popular etymology, which connected the name with the A.S. *flēam*, flight, and *flīema*, a fugitive; as if it were the dike of fugitives or of refuge. It is certainly curious that, on a visit to the Fleam Dike, I met with an inhabitant of the neighbourhood who wished me to understand that the dike had been made by the Flemings; so that the tradition of the name in Domesday Book is remembered even at the present day. The spelling *Flemigdich* (error for *Flemingdich*) appears as late as 1279, in the Hundred Rolls, ii. 445.

HALE. The suffix *-hale* occurs only in *Yen Hall*, formerly Enhale, and in *Mep-hale*, the old spelling of Mepal in F.A., in

[1] The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Robert le Flemming.

1302, 1337, 1346, 1428, and much later. The word *hale*, "a corner, nook, a secret place," is fully explained in the New Eng. Dictionary; from *heale*, *hale*, dat. of A.S. *healh*, Old Mercian *halh*, "a haugh," a derivative from the second grade of A.S. *helan*, to hide. We may here explain it by "retreat."

MEPAL. In this form, the prefix *Mep-* is probably personal. It occurs again in *Mep-ham*, Kent; of which the A.S. forms are *Mēapa-hām*, *Mēaphām*; see Kemble's Index. The *ēa* is long, because short *ea* does not occur between an *m* and a *p*. There is no further trace of it. *Mēapa* looks like a genitive plural, as if *Mēapas* was the name of a tribe.

ENHALE. This is an old parish which, as I am informed, has been absorbed into West Wickham[1]; and the only trace of the name is that a *Yen Hall* still exists there. However, the spelling *Enhale* occurs in 1279 (Hund. Rolls, vol. ii.), in 1302 and 1346 (F.A. 145, 163); and *Enhall* in 1316 (F.A. 155). The A.S. form is *Ean-heale* (dative) in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 629, in connexion with Wratting, Wickham, and Balsham. The *Ea* in *Ean-* must be long. I can only suggest that this prefix is short for *Ēanan* (see Birch, Cart. Sax. ii. 296, l. 10), gen. of *Ēana*, a known pet-name. The sense is "Eana's retreat."

HIRN. The suffix *-hirn* occurs only in GUY-HIRN, and presents no difficulty. It is the word *hern* or *hirn*, "a corner, nook, or hiding-place," fully explained in the New Eng. Dictionary, at p. 245 of the letter H. The A.S. form is *hyrne*. The name *Guy* is not A.S., but Norman; so that the village dates from after the Norman Conquest. The sense is "Guy's retreat." The Ramsey Chartulary mentions twenty men of this name.

LODE. This important word denotes a water-course, and represents the A.S. *lād*, a way, course, especially a water-course; and is the word from which the verb *to lead* is derived. We have examples in Bottisham Lode, Swaffham Bulbeck Lode,

[1] "Enhale est hamelett' pertin' ad Wycham"; Rot. Hundred. ii. 429.

and others. It occurs also in the place-name *Ox-lode*, near Downham, which is probably not a word of great antiquity, as it never seems to be mentioned.

PORT. This occurs in LITTLEPORT, which is found in Domesday Book as *Litelport*. The force of the prefix is obvious. The A.S. *port* is merely borrowed from Latin, and has two distinct senses. In the first instance, it represents Lat. *porta*, a gate, which is of rare occurrence. Otherwise (as doubtless here) it represents Lat. *portus*; and it meant not only a port or haven, but also a town. See *port* in Toller's A.S. Dictionary. In early times, the sea not only came up to Littleport, but even further south. In The Fenland, p. 576, we read :—"Once the mouth of the Ouse was at Littleport."

RETH. This suffix occurs in SHEP-RETH and MELD-RETH; but not in *Aldreth*, which is to be divided as *Aldr-eth* (see p. 34). *Meld-reth* is to be thus divided, because the old spelling of *Melbourn* is *Melde-bourne*, with the same prefix *Meld-*, the two places lying close together. It is quite true that the spelling *Melrede*, without *d*, occurs in Domesday Book; but the same authority gives us *Melleburne* for the A.S. *Meldeburne*, and the loss of the *d* after *l* is regular in Anglo-French, which actually has such spellings as *hel* for E. *held*, and *shel* for M.E. *sheld*, E. *shield*, as in the Lay of Havelok. Besides which, I.C.C. has the true form *Meldrethe* in full. The form *Meldeburn* occurs as late as in Fuller's Worthies. The Domesday spelling of *Shepreth* is nothing short of comic, being *Escep-ride*; where we note the Norman inability to sound the A.S. *sc* (E. *sh*) without prefixing an *e*, and the equal inability to pronounce the E. *th*, as is shown still more clearly in I.C.C., which has the spelling *Scepereie* (with the *th* suppressed). In 1302 and 1316 we find the form *Scheperethe* (Feudal Aids); so also in In. p. m.

I do not accept the suggestion that *-reth* represents the A.S. *rīð* or *rīðe*, a stream, a word still extant, in the form *rithe*, in the South of England. For the final *th* in this word was usually dropped, as in Shottery, A.S. *Scotta-rīð*, Childrey, A.S. *Cilla-rīð*. And further, the A.S. *ī* is never represented by M.E.

e, and we really must pay some regard to our vowels, instead of pursuing the slovenly habit of the antiquarians of the last century, who disregarded all vowel-sounds with supreme indifference, chiefly because they wanted to guess with the greater freedom.

I take it to be the unaccented form of our common word *wreath*, with the sense of "enclosure for cattle," as formerly in Scotch; see the E.D.D. The A.S. *wrǣð*, also *wrǣd*, means a wreath, a ring (as, for instance, a crown or neck-ornament); also, a bandage; hence, as above, a fence of twisted or wreathed hurdles. And if this be admitted, we at once have a suffix with much the same sense as the Friesian *hamm*, an enclosure. This at once explains the connexion with *Shep-*, which obviously represents *sheep*, as in the compound *shepherd*. In the case of *Meld-reth*, the old spelling of *Melbourne*, viz. the late A.S. *Meldeburne* (in I.C.C. and in Kemble's Index) shows that the prefix is *Melde*. This represents an earlier form *Meldan*, gen. of the pet-name *Melda*, which occurs in *Meldan-īge* (Kemble). There is also an A.S. *melda* which means "an informer."

I conclude that Shepreth and Meldreth mean, respectively, "sheep-enclosure" and "Melda's enclosure."

WARE. This occurs in UPWARE, on the river Granta (Cam), between Waterbeach and Ely; which is spelt *Upwere* in 1349, in the Pedes Finium, ed. W. Rye. Here *up* means "above," with reference to its situation with respect to those who bestowed the name; and *ware*, M.E. *were*, is another form of *weir*, which was often used in a rather vague way. It not only signified a weir or dam, but also a mill-pool, or, more generally, any fishing-pool where there was hardly any perceptible flow of water. For example, where our Prayer-book version of Ps. cvii. 35 has "he maketh the wilderness a standing water," the Vulgate version has *stagna*, and the Early English Psalter published by the Surtees Society has *weres of watres*. Compare the passage in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 656, where there is mention of "wateres and meres and fennes and *weres*," i.e. waters and meres, and fens and weirs. As to the spelling *ware* for *weir*, see Miss Jackson's Shropshire

Glossary. I suppose Upware to mean "upper pool"; and that a *ware* or *weir* differs from a natural pool as having been caused artificially by the construction of a dam and being well adapted for catching fish. Thus in the Inquisitio Eliensis, p. 190, we read:—"Hec sunt piscaria monachorum elyensium: Gropwere, Chydebeche, Fridai, Bramewere, Vttrewere [Outer-weir], Landwere, Burringewere,...Biwere [By-weir], Northwere, &c."

§ 10. The suffixes beach, bourn, den, down, ea or ey, fen, field, heath, lea, mere, pool, wade.

Besides the suffixes relating to occupation or artificial works, we find others relating to natural objects, such as *beach*, *bourn*, *den*, *down*, *ea* or *ey* (island), *fen*, *field*, *heath*, *lea*, *mere*, *over* (bank), *wade*. These will now be considered in order.

Beach. As in Landbeach, Waterbeach, and Wisbeach. *Beach* is a difficult word, for which the N.E.D. should be consulted. There is no doubt that it often means "shingle"; and on this account the authors of The Fenland Past and Present have raised the objection that there is no shingle to be found at Waterbeach; and so they refer us to the A.S. *bec*, or *becc*, a beck, or river. This, however, is quite useless, for two reasons; the first is, that *beck* is not in use in Cambridgeshire, but belongs to Lincolnshire and the Northern counties; and the other is that the A.S. *bec*, which is unauthorised, is merely a borrowed word from Norse, and never appears in a palatalised form, such as *betch*; and even if it did, *betch* is not the same thing as *beach*. The objection, however, is of no consequence, because *beach* certainly has also the vaguer sense of bank or strand or shore, which is obviously what is here intended[1]. Waterbeach stood upon the old shore of the estuary of the Wash, and Landbeach merely differed from it in being a little further inland. There is no doubt the reason why the names given in Domesday Book are, respectively, *Bech* (or

[1] There was a name *Cheselbeche* in 1617 (Fenland, p. 206). *Chesel* means "shingle" (see N.E.D.); and *Cheselbeche* means "shingle-shore," not "shingle-shingle" or "shingle-beck." *Waterbeche* occurs in 1279 (Hund. Rolls).

Bece) and *Utbech*; i.e. Beach as representing Waterbeach, and *Utbech*, i.e. Out-beach, signifying a place a little further from the water; (unless, indeed, the contrary be intended, for 'out' is somewhat vague)[1]. It is unfortunate that Bosworth's Dictionary gives, as the sole example of *bec*, a river, a different form *bæc*, which must have meant a valley or a river-bank, closely related to *bæcc* (as in *Bæcceswyrth*, Batchworth, in the Crawford Charters); of which the palatalised form *bache* exists in provincial English and in Middle English, as well as in place-names, such as Pulverbatch in Salop. This is the word, in fact, with which *beach* is much more likely to be connected; the usual sense of *bache*[2] being simply valley. It seems likely that the original sense of *beach* was a shore or river-bank, on which in some cases stones were deposited, giving it a secondary sense of pebbles or shingle. In the instances of Landbeach, Waterbeach, and Wisbeach, we may content ourselves with the simpler sense of "shore."

WISBEACH. We have here to consider the prefix. We find the form *Wisebeche* in a late copy of a charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 4, where the spelling is Norman. Again, in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, an. 656, we find *Wisebece*, where *bece* is not the dat. of the alleged A.S. *bec(c)*, a river, but is a Norman spelling of *bæce*, the dat. of *bæc*, as explained above. The Norman scribes very soon expunged *æ* from the alphabet, substituting for it sometimes *a* and sometimes *e*, because the sound of the A.S. *æ* (modern Southern English *a* in *cat*) lay somewhere between the French *a* and *e*. *Wise* (pronounced as *wissy*) is, apparently, another spelling of *Ūse* (Ouse), which also appears as *Wuse*; for which see the A.S. Chronicle. When the Norman scribes introduced the French *ou* for the A.S. *ū*, the spelling became *Ouse*; and has so remained ever since. The form *Wis-* was sometimes prefixed to the A.S. *ēa*, Mid. Eng. *ee*, a stream, giving the form *Wis-ee* (Ouse-stream), now turned

[1] I observe, in Domesday Book, a mention of *mille anguillarum* in connexion with *Bech* and *Bece*, which suggests that it was near the water.

[2] I have heard it called *baich*, and have seen it spelt *baitch*, which agrees exactly with the old pronunciation of *beach*.

into *Wissey*, and still in use as the name of an affluent of the Ouse near Hilgay. The Ouse once flowed past Wisbeach (see The Fenland, p. 82); but our modern maps call the river the Nene.

BOURN, a small river; as in Bourne, Bassingbourn, Fulbourn, Melbourn. From A.S. *burn*. The place now called Bourne was originally called by the Norse name Brunne (Norw. *brunn*), of which the English *bourne* was a later translation. It appears as *Brune* in Domesday Book, and as *Brunne* in 1171, 1190, 1194, and 1210, in which last year *Burne* also occurs (R.B.).

BASSING-BOURN. The old spellings do not materially differ; *Bassingeburne* occurs in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. *Bassing* is a tribal name; the name *Bass* occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 669. In I.C.C. we find *Basingeburna*. It means "bourn of the Bassings."

FULBOURN. Domesday Book has *Fuleberne*, an error for *Fuleborne*; cf. *Fuleburna* in I.C.C. In Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, a late copy of a charter of 1060, the spelling is *Fuulburne*. The prefix represents the A.S. *fūl*, modern E. *foul*, dirty or turbid. For other instances of the use of the same prefix, see Kemble's Index.

MELBOURN. Spelt *Meldeburna* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 60. *Melde* represents *Meldan*, gen. case of *Melda*, a personal name, as shown under MELDRETH (p. 44). It means "Melda's bourn."

-DEN.

With the suffix *-den*, we find Croydon or Crawden, Gransden; also Eversden, Guilden Morden, and Steeple Morden, in which *-den* has been substituted for *-don*.

Den is a variant of *dene* or *dean*, a vale; see *Dean* (2) in the New Eng. Dictionary, where examples of the form *den* are given. The A.S. form is *denu*.

CROYDON is a comparatively modern form; the older form was *Crawden*. I find *Crauden* in Fuller's Worthies; and Mr Foster notes *Craudene* in F.A., viz. in 1302, 1346, 1428,

and *Croudene* (= *Crowdene*) in 1316; the Ramsden Chartulary has *Crouedene*, and Domesday Book has *Crauuedene*, with *uu* for *w*, whence *Craweden* in 1238 (Pedes Finium). *Crawe* represents the A.S. *crāwan*, gen. of the weak fem. sb. *crāwe*, a crow, which also occurs as a female name. The sense is "Crow's vale." In Kemble's Index we find eleven examples of the form *crāwan*. The *Croy-* in Croyland is a different word; as the A.S. name was *Crūwland* or *Crūland*.

EVERSDEN. Spelt *Everes-dene* in 1316 (F.A. i. 157), but *Eversdone* in 1302 (F.A. i. 149), *Everesdon* in 1291 (Taxatio Eccles. p. 266); *Auresdone* in Domesday Book. In I.C.C. it is *Eueresdona*. Hence the suffix was really *-don*, not *-den*. The A.S. form would be *Eofores-dūn*, where *Eofores* is the gen. case of *Eofor*, a personal name of which the literal sense, like that of the Ger. *eber*, is "a boar." The name occurs in Bēowulf; in fact, the gen. case *Eofores* will be found in l. 2486. Compare Eversley (Hants.); i.e. "boar's lea." It may be noted that the substitution of *-den* for *-don* is later than A.D. 1300.

GRANSDEN. Formerly *Grantesdene*, in 1210 (R.B.), and 1316 (F.A. i. 157); in 1393, the form is *Grandesden* (Ely Registers); after which the *d* dropped out, giving the modern form. The *s* seems to have been a later insertion, as we find the form *Grentedene* in a copy of a charter made after the Conquest; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, and again in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia. Domesday Book has *Gratedene*, with *n* omitted; it is *Grantendene* in I.C.C. This is an Anglo-French spelling, representing an A.S. form *Grante-denu*, *Granta-denu*, or *Grantan-denu*. The sense is "vale of the Granta"; and is interesting as showing that there was a second Granta in the same county; for the stream which passes near Little and Great Gransden is an affluent of the Ouse at a point near St Neot's, and distinct from the Granta which flows through Cambridge.

MORDEN. The spelling *Mordene* occurs in 1236 and later (R.B.); but we also find *Mordone* in 1166, *Mordune* in 1210 (R.B.), *Mordune* in I.C.C. and in Domesday Book. If these

latter spellings are correct, the right form is *Mordon*, answering to A.S. *Mōr-dūn*, lit. "moor-down." Supposing, however, that *Morden* were correct, the A.S. form would be *Mōr-denu*, lit. "moor-valley"; with reference to the small stream which passes near the two Mordens. But the early evidence in favour of the etymology from *down* can be supplemented, and is quite conclusive[1]. *Mor-* occurs in a great many places, and is the shortened form of A.S. *mōr*, a moor; the vowel being shortened, as usual, when followed by two consonants. Compare such forms as Morley and Morton, and particularly the form Westmorland, i.e. "West moorland." There are two Mordens; Guilden Morden and Steeple Morden. The latter was no doubt named from having a church with a conspicuous steeple. The epithet *Guilden* is less clear. It is worth noticing that there is a Sutton in Cheshire called *Guilden Sutton*; with the same epithet. It is spelt *Gildene* in 1316, and *Gyldene* in 1346 (F.A. i. 156, 171); but also *Gilden* (without final *e*) in 1342 (Ely Registers), and *Gylden* in 1302 (F.A.). As to what it means, I can only give a guess; the form would accurately represent the A.S. *gyldena*, gen. pl. of *gylda*, a guild-brother; as if it were "the Morden of the guild-brothers"; but this requires confirmation by the help of historical research. Whatever be the explanation, it must satisfy the case of the Cheshire village also, which is a very small place, having less than 200 inhabitants. In a Hist. of Cambs., dated 1851, it is stated that the manor of this Morden was held by four owners conjointly; which perhaps explains it. Cf. Guildford.

The above solution is strongly supported by the spellings *Geldenemordon* (1255) and *Guldenemordon* (1317), found in the Index to the Charters and Rolls; for *geldene*, *guldene* point to the A.S. *gyldena* as their origin.

Down, -don.

Down, from the A.S. *dūn*, is a flattened hill, and well known. We have already had an example in Downham. It is naturally rare as a suffix in our flat county; but we have an

[1] Morden in Surrey is likewise a corruption of Mordon (Crawford Charters).

example in WHADDON, as well as in Morden (rightly Mordon), and likewise in Eversden, as shown above; p. 49. The first is spelt *Whaddone* in 1302 (F.A. i. 150); but, as the Norman scribes usually substituted *w* for *wh*, we find also *Waddon* in 1210 (R.B.), and *Wadone*, *Wadune* in Domesday Book. The astonishing form *Phwaddune* (with *Phw* for *Wh*) occurs in I.C.C., p. 107, and is highly significant. There are two other Whaddons, and a Waddon in Surrey, all derived from the same form, viz. A.S. *Hwæte-dūn*, lit. "wheat-down." This form, *Hwæte-dūn*, occurs in an early and genuine will, of the ninth century; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 196; and the M.E. *Whatdon* occurs in 1287, in the Abbreviatio Rotulorum, p. 55. Kemble identifies Hwætedūn with *Wotton* in Surrey, and Earle follows him, in the index to his Land Charters, p. 495. But the identification will suit Waddon (in Surrey) equally well, and even better. The identification with Wotton is obviously based on the fact that Hwætedūn is mentioned in connection with Gatton in the same county; but Gatton is ten miles (in direct distance) from Wotton, whereas from Waddon it is only eight; and *Wotton* would be better explained as being equivalent to *Wootton*; from *wood* and *town*. Observe, further, that when a word ending in a consonant is compounded with a second that begins with one, the second consonant remains unaltered. *Cupboard* is not pronounced as *cuppoard*, but as *cubboard*; so that Whaddon must always have ended in *-don* or *-dūn*, just as Wotton has always ended in *-ton* or *-tūn*.

-EA AND -EY.

We have some place-names ending in *-ea*, as Anglesea, Estrea, Horningsea, Manea, Stonea, Whittlesea; one in *-ay*, as Barw-ay; and some in *-ey*, as Coveney, Ramsey, Stuntney, Swavesey, Thorney, and Welney; to which we may add Wendy, ending in *-y*; but not Ely. At the same time we may consider such names as Gamlingay, Lingay, and Shengay. A careful survey of these words shows that in no case does the suffix represent the A.S. *ēa*, a stream (which became *ee*), but only its

derivative *ēg* or *īg*, an island. Of these forms *īg* is the usual Wessex form, represented in later times by a simple final *-y*, while *ēg* is the O. Mercian and Northumbrian form, and *ey* (if old) is Norse. In Cambs. the form *ēg* prevailed, represented by *-ea*, *-ey*, *-ay*, *-y*; the examples with *-y* are Wendy, and Coveny as a variant of Coveney. See *Island* in the New Eng. Dictionary. As the original sense of *ēg* or *īg* was simply "watery," it came to mean any land wholly or to a great extent surrounded by water; often, no doubt, a piece of land wholly or nearly surrounded by a river and smaller affluents; or any piece of somewhat isolated land lying close to a stream.

In the map which accompanies the book named 'The Fenland, Past and Present,' by Miller and Skertchly, it will be seen that the following places are marked as situate on what were formerly distinct islands:—Manea, Stonea, Whittlesea, Coveney, Stuntney, Thorney, Barway (or Barraway), and the isle of Ely. And it may be noticed that Waterbeach is represented as being situate on the old shore of the Wash, whilst Landbeach is further inland. Horningsea lay between the Wash and the Granta. Anglesea Abbey was close to the old shore of the Wash, to the N.E. of Stow-cum-Quy.

Anglesea. A priory of Augustinian Canons was founded at Anglesea (or Anglesey) in the time of Henry I. Lit. "the isle of the Angle," with reference to an individual. This use is rare, as the word is almost invariably used in the plural. But the gen. plural is *Ængla* or *Engla*, and the "land of the Angles" is *Engla-land* or England. See *Angle* in the New English Dictionary. The A.S. nom. pl. is *Engle*, so that the addition of an *s* never occurred in the plural at all. The early spelling *Angleseye* occurs in 1270 (Cat. Ancient Deeds); cf. *Anglesheye* in the Hundred Rolls, ii. 360.

Barway. So in the Ordnance map (it is near Little Thetford); but Barraway in the Fenland map. The suffix simulates the word *way*, but the right division is *Barw-ay* or *Barraw-ay*. This is shown both by the fact that it was once an island, and by the old spellings. We find *Berewey* in 1316

(F.A.), but *Bergheye* in the time of Henry III (R.B.), and *Bergeye* in 1155 (R.B.); also the Latinised forms *Bergeia, Berheia, Bercheia* (Pipe Rolls). It is obviously derived from the O. Merc. *berh*, A.S. *beorh*, a hill, mound, and O. Merc. *ēg* (A.S. *īg*), an island. If we spell it *Barrow-ey*, the etymology becomes clearer, as the A.S. *beorh* is now *bąrrow*. See *Barrow*, a mound, in the New Eng. Dictionary.

COVENEY, COVENY. The Latinised form *Coueneia* occurs in a footnote at p. 270 of Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vol. iv. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Coveneye* or *Coveneie*. The prefix *Couen* represents the A.S. *Cufan*, gen. case of *Cufa*, a well-authenticated personal name. The suffix is O. Merc. *ēg*, A.S. *īg*.

ELY. Spelt *Elig* in Kemble's edition of the Charters in many instances; but *Helig* in a late paper copy of a charter of A.D. 957; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 196—7. There can be no doubt that the name has very long been understood, by a popular etymology, to mean "isle of eels," a name which is quite appropriate; but this would require a usual spelling *ǣlēg* (*ǣlīg*), a form which never occurs but once, as noted below. In fact the spelling in Beda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 19, is *Elge*; see the ed. by Mayor and Lumby, p. 127, l. 30, and p. 130, l. 20. The best MS. of the early A.S. translation has the spellings *Elige* and *Elia lond*; see the ed. by T. Miller (E.E.T.S.), p. 318, l. 10, and p. 320, l. 5. We find, at p. 318—"in þǣm *þēodlonde* þe is gecēged Elige," lit. in the *tribe-land* that is called Elige; but this translates the Latin *regione*. It seems quite certain, in any case, that there was no allusion to "island" in the original name. The various readings are very remarkable; for *Elige*, other readings are *Lige* and *Hćlige*, and one MS. (not older than the Conquest) has *ćl ćg* [*ǣg* = *ēg*], i.e. 'eel-island,' showing that the popular interpretation had already affected the English name at that date.

If, however, we go back to Beda's spelling *El-ge*, we see that it represents the O. Northumbrian *ēl-gē*, i.e. "district of eels," where *ēl* is the later A.S. *ćl*, "eel," and *gē* is the very rare early equivalent of the G. *Gau* (see Kluge, Etym. Dict., s.v.

Gau). This agrees sufficiently with Beda's explanation:—"Est autem Elge...*regio*...in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis, unde et a copia *anguillarum* quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur nomen accepit." See H. M. Chadwick's Studies in Old English, § 5.

We thus see that the original sense was "eel-region," altered to "eel-island," by popular etymology, when the form *gē* became obsolete, perhaps in the tenth century.

I copy the following useful note from The Fenland, Past and Present, p. 63.

The boundaries of the Isle of Ely are thus described in Sprott's Chronicle, published by Hearne[1]. "At *Erhithbridge* begins one entrance into the Island, which extends as far as *Sotton Grove*, and so at *Mephale*, and so at *Wychombrigge*, and so at *Ely Dounhom*[2], and so at *Littleport*[2], and so at the Town of *Ely*, and so at Haveryngmere, and so at *Stratham Lode*, and so at Andlong[2] Wesche, on the south side of the island, and so at Alderhethbrigge, and so at Erhithbregge. These are the entrances into the island, one at *Littleport*[2], another at *Stonteneyebrigge*, the third at Alderhithebregge, the fourth at Erhithbregge."

Eastrea, Estrea. Quite a different word from *Eastry* in Kent; for which see the forms in Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 611. It is probably the *Estrey* mentioned in a spurious charter in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 438, l. 5. The prefix is A.S. *ēastra*, lit. "more to the east"; it is just due east of *Whittles-ea*, also once an island. There is also a *Westry Farm*, to the west of the road leading northwards from March.

Horningsea. Spelt *Horningesie* in Domesday Book, and *Horningeseie* (Norman spelling) in I.C.C. and in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. For A.S. *Horninges-ēg*, "isle of Horning." *Horning* is a patronymic, and the name *Horn* is known; indeed, there is a "Lay of King Horn" extant both in French and English.

[1] Th. Sprotti Chronica; ed. T. Hearne, Oxon. 1719; p. 199. I correct a few spellings.

[2] Hearne prints *Donnhom*, *Litteport*, *Andlong*; Miller has *Audlong*.

MANEA. I find no old spelling; but the suffix means "isle," as in the other instances; for it was once a complete island. The prefix probably represents the A.S. *Mannan*, gen. case of *Manna*, a name which occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 921. Cf. A.S. *manna*, a man, a sb. of the weak declension, by-form of *mann*, a man, of which the gen. is *mannes*. Compare such place-names as Man-ley and Man-ton; and note that *Manning* was a tribal name, as in Manningford, Manningham, and Manningtree. The sense is "Manna's isle."

[I take this opportunity of making a note on the name RAMSEY, as so many illustrations have been taken from the Ramsey Chartulary; though it is just out of our county, in Hunts. We find, on excellent authority, that this name has lost an initial *h*. It is spelt *Hrames-ēge* (dative) in Ælfhelm's Will; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 300; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 598, l. 10. This shows that the prefix is not our modern E. *ram*, but the A.S. *hræm*, variant of *hræmn* or *hrafn*, a raven, whence the mod. E. *raven* is derived. The sense is "Raven's isle"; but whether *Raven* was a bird's name or a man's, we cannot certainly say. The latter is more probable; the former is possible. The same prefix occurs in *Hremmesden*, now *Ramsdean*, Hants., according to Kemble; but I cannot find this Ramsdean in the map.]

STONEA. Of this name I find no record; but the prefix is obviously the A.S. *stān*, M.E. *stoon*, modern E. *stone*; with reference (I suppose) to the soil. It means "stone-isle."

STUNTNEY. Spelt *Stuntenei* in Domesday Book, *Stunteneie* in I.C.C.; which affords the clue. *Stunten* represents the A.S. *stuntan*, gen. of *stunta*, weak form of *stunt*, foolish. *Stunta* means "a foolish person," evidently a nickname. In Matt. v. 22, where the A.V. has "thou fool," the A.S. version has "ðū *stunta*." It means "Stunta's isle."

SWAVESEY. Spelt *Suauiseye* in 1266 (Pedes Finium); *Swavsey* in 1316, *Swaveseye* in 1346, and *Swafsey* in the same year (F.A. i. 152, 166—8); *Svavesye* in Domesday Book. The A.S. prefix is *Swēfes*, gen. of *Swēf*; a personal name which

occurs again in *Swaffham*. As the *æ* was originally long, it must have been shortened, as in *Swaffham*, and afterwards again lengthened. Otherwise, the modern name would have been *Swevesey*. The process is not uncommon. The A.S. *Swæf* is a most interesting word, as it originally meant one of the tribe called in Latin *Suēui*, mentioned both by Cæsar and Tacitus, and now called Swabians. The A.S. *æ* answers to Ger. *ā*, and to a primitive Germanic *ē*, so that the vowel preserved in Latin is the original one.

THORNEY. Spelt *Thorneia* in 1169 (Pipe Rolls), *Torneya* in 1158, and *Torny* in Domesday Book. Cf. A.S. *Þornīg*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 102. The spelling with *T* is, of course, Anglo-French, and due to the inability of many Normans to pronounce the E. *th*. The derivation is obvious; from A.S. *thorn*, a thorn-bush. Another Thorney is celebrated as being the site of Westminster Abbey; it is described in a spurious charter as being a "locus terribilis"; Birch, Cart. Sax. i. 339.

WELNEY, WELNY, near Wisbech. I find no old spelling; but the derivation is obvious, viz. from *wellan ēg*, or *wellan īg*, "isle of the well," apparently because it stood beside a stream called the *Wellan-ēa*, or "well-stream" (later spelling *wellen-he* = *wellen-ee*, in the Ramsey Chartulary) and afterwards Well Creek; see The Fenland, pp. 7, 189, 209. Here *wellan* is the gen. of A.S. *wylle* or *welle*; see *wille* in the A.S. Dictionary. The dat. *wellan* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 206; and the dat. and gen. cases of weak substantives are identical in form.

WENDY. Formerly *Wendye* (1316), *Wendeye* (1346), in F.A. i. 157, 172; *Wandei* and *Wandrie* in Domesday Book. The form *Wandrie* is remarkable; but is shown to be corrupt by comparison with I.C.C., which has the correct form *Wendeie*. The variation of the vowel in *Wendeie*, *Wandei*, points to the A.S. *æ*. Hence we can hardly be wrong in identifying the prefix with the A.S. *Wændan*, occurring in the place-name *Wændan-meres*, which actually appears as *Wendan* in *Wendan-beorges* in the very next line of the same genuine and early

charter (A.D. 956). See Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 106, ll. 1 and 2. *Wendan* is the gen. case of *Wenda*, a known personal name. The sense is "Wenda's island."

WHITTLESEA. Spelt *Witleseye* in 1389 (Conybeare's Cambs., p. 147); *Witleseye* in 1394 (Ely Registers); *Witesie* (which is corrupt) in Domesday Book; for Anglo-French, like modern French, dislikes the combination *tl*. However, the same authority has also the correct form *Witeles-ford*; and I.C.C. has *Witleseie*. In the late copy of the A.S. Chronicle we find *Witles-mere* under the year 656, in a late and spurious charter; but the spelling is Norman. In the Charters, we find an allusion to "insulam quae *Witlesig* nuncupatur"; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 101, and *Witlesmere* occurs on the same page. This at any rate proves that Whittlesea was then considered to be an island. Again, we find "stagni quod dicitur *Witlesmere*"; Cod. Dipl. iii. 93, 101; and the forms *Witleseye*, *Witlesmere*, in the Ramsey Chartulary. But all these exhibit Norman spellings, and furnish no clear proof that the word originally began with *W* rather than *Hw*. On the other hand, the *Wh-* is generally correctly used in local names; and if so, we may derive the prefix from an A.S. form **Hwītel*, diminutive of a name commencing with *Hwīt*, lit. "white." If the initial had been originally *W*, we might take *witles* to be the genitive of A.S. *witol*, an adjective with the sense of "wise," derived from *witan*, to know, and employed as a nickname or epithet; compare *Stuntney* above.

It is further evident, that the modern name Whittlesea-mere is unoriginal. The true name is simply *Whittles-mere*. And of course the drainage of the fens has left but little trace of it. Moreover, it was not situate within our county, but near Yaxley in Huntingdonshire. See The Fenland, by Miller and Skertchley, p. 162, for a map of it as it existed in 1824.

GAMLINGAY. It is hardly possible to discuss this name without raising the question as to how it is to be divided; i.e. whether the suffix is *-gay* or *-ay*.

After some consideration of the question, I think it must be taken along with other difficult place-names of a like character; and we have first of all to enquire, whether such a suffix as *-gay* is possible in Old English. My belief is that it is not; for no such word is to be found either in English or in Norse, nor yet in Norman. I am aware that it has been proposed to derive the suffix *-gay* from the German *gau*; but it is now well ascertained that we did not borrow words from Old High German, still less from the German of the present day. And it has been shown above, under ELY, that the equivalent of the G. *gau* is the Anglian *gē* (with *g* = E. *y*). The proposal is, of course, preposterous. Neither did we borrow it from Norse, because, although the change of *au* to *ey*, by means of mutation, is regular in Norse, it so happens that the equivalent of the German *gau* was never at any time in use in any Scandinavian language. And not even Norse can lend a word which it does not possess.

Another bad guess has been made as to the name *Bungay*, which we are gravely told is from the French *bon gué*, "a good ford." But surely *gué* is mere modern French; the Norman form was *wet* or *guet*, and even in the form *guet* the *gu* was pronounced as *gw* (according to Gaston Paris). It is a desperate guess to resort to mispronouncing Norman for the purpose of forcing an etymology which is so much more likely to have been of English or Norse origin; neither is it necessary. The origin of Bungay presents no difficulty if we divide it rightly and consider its geographical position. It is best explained by considering the parallel case of Durham. Durham is, as is well known, a Norman travesty of the Old English name *Dūn-holm*, i.e. hill-island, or rather, hill-peninsula, which describes it exactly. It is situate on a horse-shoe bend of the river Wear, and rises high above the water in a rounded knoll. The situation of Bungay is precisely similar, and it can be explained from the Icel. *bung-a*, a round elevation, and *ey*, an island or peninsula. The same word *bunga*, a round hill, is preserved in modern Norwegian, according to Ross.

It might be supposed that the suffix *-gay* is obvious in such cases as HILGAY and WORMEGAY; but the moment that we

come to examine their history, we find that the modern forms are contracted. The old spelling of the former is *Helingeye* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey, and *Helingeheie* in I.C.C.; and we see in the prefix a tribal name in *-ing* (probably the tribe of the Hellings, represented by *Hellingley* in Sussex), so that the true suffix is *-eye*, an island, as in so many other cases. So also Wormegay was formerly *Wirmingai* (Red Book, index); i.e. *Wyrminga ēg*, or "isle of the Wyrmings." When we thus see that such names as Bungay and Hilgay and Wormegay[1], when fairly considered, are found to exhibit the suffix *-ay* (or *-ey*), an island, we may suspect that Gamlingay presents no exception to the general rule. The old spellings are *Gameling-eye* in 1211, and *Gamelingehey* in 1210 (R.B.). Hence the name can be explained at once, from a tribal name *Gamelingas*; and such is Kemble's explanation. He compares it with a *Gembling* in Yorkshire, which, however, I have not found. The Gamelings were the sons of Gamel, which is a well-authenticated name. The adjective *gamol*, meaning "old," occurs in Old English poetry, but is rather scarce, except in the earliest poems; most of the examples of it occur in Bēowulf. In Scandinavian, on the other hand, it has always been one of the commonest of words, where it has almost displaced the word "old" altogether. In Danish, for example, "an old horse" is *en gammel Hest*, and can be expressed in no other way. The singular *Gameling* was used as the name of an individual, but, as the Normans were unable to pronounce the final *ng* except by an effort, the name appears at a later date in the form *Gamelin* (as spelt in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey and in the celebrated *Tale of Gamelyn*), and still exists as *Gamlin* or *Gamlyn* or *Gamlen*.

The matter becomes easier to understand if we bear in mind that the final *ng* in A.S. (as in Old High German) was sounded like the *ng* in *finger*, not like the *ng* in *singer*. If we denote this sound by *ngg*, we see that the name was once sounded as *Gamelingga-ey*, shortened to *Gamelingg-ay*, and this at once explains the distinctness of the *g*-sound in the modern

[1] With the same prefix as in Worming-ford, Worming-hall, and Worming-ton.

word, and the tendency to throw it over, as it were, into the final syllable. See Sweet's History of English Sounds, § 550[1]. It is perhaps not quite easy, in this case, as it is in others, to see the applicability of the name. But there is a small stream to the south-east of the village, beyond which the ground rises for about forty feet in the course of half a mile; whilst to the west side the ground again declines towards the Ouse, which in the old days before the fens were drained must often have overflowed a considerable expanse of land. On this point, we have the express evidence of Prof. Babington, who tells us that in the neighbourhood of Gamlingay there were "extensive quaking bogs," in which certain fen-plants grew which can no longer be found there; and he supplies a list of them; see his Flora Cantabrigiensis, p. xix. If, as seems likely, it was thus somewhat isolated, which is all that is meant by the suffix *-ay*, it is not altogether the most southern example of places of this character; for I suppose that both Shingay and Wendy fall under the same category. Both of them lie between the Granta (or Cam) and small affluent streams. The sense of Gamelingay is, accordingly, "the isle of the sons of Gamel."

Shengay, or Shingay. The change from *en* to *in* is common in English, so that we at once know Shengay to be the older name. The spelling is *Shengey* in 1316 (F.A.); the suffix being probably *ey*, an island or peninsula. The mere fact that the name begins with *Sh* proves that it is English, and not Scandinavian or Norman. The above form is not old enough to explain its origin, but comparison with the name of *Shenington* in Oxfordshire at once suggests that it is a contraction of *Sheningey*, from a tribal name represented by the modern prefix *Shening-*; and this supposition is fully proved by the fortunate occurrence of the full form *Sceningei* (also *Scenegeia*) in I.C.C. The trisyllabic form *Schenegeye* occurs in 1276, in the Hundred Rolls, i. 50; and *Schenynghey* in 1277 (Pedes Finium). Cf. *Shenyngfeld* (Shinfield, Berks.) in Abbrev. Rot. p. 256. *Shening* is from a name represented by the *Shen-* of

[1] This is why we actually find *Gamilenkeia* in the time of Henry II; see Index to Charters and Rolls, Vol. i. Cf. *Horninggeseye* (Hund. Rolls, ii.).

Shenton, in Leicestershire, and perhaps by Sheen. The A.S. prefix *Scēn-* occurs in the compound name *Scēn-wulf*, which is preserved in the Liber Vitæ of Durham; see Sweet, Oldest Eng. Texts, p. 608, col. 1. The sense is "Shenings' isle."

I may add that there is a Shenley in Herts. and a Shenfield in Essex. The latter corresponds to the A.S. *scēn-feld*, the fair or beautiful field, for which see the A.S. Dictionary. This *scēne* is cognate with the familiar G. *schön*, beautiful; and I know of no reason why the *scēn-* in *scēn-feld* may not be the same as the *Scēn-* in *Scēn-wulf* and in *Scēn-ing*; for although *scēne*, "beautiful," is the usual poetical attribute of a woman, or of an angel, it might have been applied to a man, if not as a compliment, at any rate in irony.

As to the meaning of LINGAY, I am not at all certain. The syllable *ling* may have meant "heath"; for *ling* seems to be East Anglian, as it occurs in the Promptorium Parvulorum and in Moor's Suffolk Words. Or, possibly, an older form may have been Lengay, and perhaps this might be allied to A.S. *lang*, long. I only suggest that the suffix was rather *-ay* than *-gay*; for the prefix *Lin-* has no sense but "flax"; and it can hardly have been a suitable place for the growth of that plant.

[The name Spinney does not belong here; see p. 74.]

FEN.

The word *fen*, A.S. *fenn*, needs no illustration. It is not found here in compounds, but only in such cases as Fen Ditton, Fen Drayton, Fen Stanton (Hunts.), where it is adjectival; or after place-names, as Burwell Fen, Chippenham Fen, Dernford Fen, Soham Fen, Wicken Fen. We have also Burnt Fen, Coe Fen, Grunty (? Granta) Fen, Great and Little North Fen, and the like. I do not undertake to explain such names as *Coe Fen*, of which we have no history, nor any assurance that they are old. *Coe*, for example, is common as a surname, and the name may be modern, as is the case with many names found in the map, such as Grange Farm, Barker's Farm, Dotterel Hall, and others.

Field.

The suffix *field* (A.S. *feld*) occurs in Haslingfield, Nosterfield, and in the name of a hundred called Radfield.

Haslingfield. Spelt *Haselingfeld* in 1284 (F.A.); and *Haslingefeld* in Domesday Book. According to Kemble, the sense is the "field of the Hæslings"; so that *Haslinge-* in Domesday Book would represent A.S. *Hæslinga*, gen. plural.

Other examples of this name occur in Haslingden, Lancs.; Haslington, Chesh.; and Heslington, Yks. The name *Hæsel* or *Hæsl*, of which *Hæsl-ing* is the patronymic, is only known as the name of a tree, viz. the "hasel"; but it is paralleled by *Æsc*, which is a well-known personal name, though the literal sense is "ash-tree"; and there is an Ashing-ton in Sussex.

Nosterfield. Nosterfield End is near Shudy Camps. The name is found as early as 1284 (Feudal Aids, i. 140). I suppose it to be short for *Paternoster field*. See the account (in Blount's Tenures) of Alice Paternoster, who held lands at Pusey, in Berkshire, by the service of saying five paternosters a day for the souls of the king's ancestors. We find the name Normannus de Nostresfelda in I.C.C., p. 28.

Radfield. Spelt *Radfelde* in 1302, *Radefeld* in 1284 (F.A.); *Radefelle* (for *Radefelde*) in Domesday Book; and *Radefelde*, *Radesfeld* in I.C.C. Apparently for A.S. *Rædan feld*, or 'field of Rædа'; *Rædа* being a pet-name from names beginning with Rædd-. Compare Radbourne, Radcliffe, Radford, Radley, Radstock, Radstone, Radway. But in some at least of these examples *rad-* represents the A.S. *rēadan*, dat. of *rēad*, red. Similarly Radfield might mean "red field." I leave this in uncertainty.

Ford.

The sense of *ford*, A.S. *ford*, is well known. It occurs in Armingford and Chilford, which are the names of two of the hundreds; also in Dernford, Shelford, Stapleford, Thetford, Whittlesford, and Witchford. It has already been explained

that Duxford and Pampisford are modern substitutions for Duxworth and Pampisworth; see pp. 26, 27.

ARMINGFORD. The *m* usually appears as *n* in early documents. We find *Armyngeforth* in 1428 (F.A. i. 189); but *Arnyngforde* in 1302 and 1316 (F.A. i. 149, 156). Still earlier, the *A* appears as *E*; as in *Erningeford* (1159, 1165, 1170, 1173) in the Pipe Rolls; and Domesday Book has *Erningford*. The change from *er* to *ar* is common; so that *Erningeford* would seem to be the right Norman spelling; which is also to be found in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. An A.S. spelling is *Ærningaford*; Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 556; where *ærn* is a Mercian form of *earn*, an eagle. The corresponding Wessex form is *Earninga*, as in *Earninga-den*, in Kemble's Index. *Earninga* is the gen. pl. of *Earning*, a patronymic formed from the personal name *Earn*, coinciding with A.S. *earn*, an eagle. Hence the sense is "ford of the sons of Earn." Note that the spellings *Ernincgaford*, *Æringeford* occur in I.C.C. Compare ARRINGTON, p. 15.

CHILFORD. Spelt *Childeford* in 1168 (Pipe Roll), and *Cildeford* (= *Childeford*) in Domesday Book. Also *Childeforda* in I.C.C. Here *Childe* represents the A.S. *Cilda*, as in *Cildatūn* (Chilton, Berks.); and *cilda* is the gen. plural of A.S. *cild*, a child. The sense is "children's ford"; with a probable allusion to its shallowness. Compare *Ox-ford*, *Swin-ford*, &c.

DERNFORD. There is still a Dernford Farm, near Stapleford. *Dernford* is mentioned, according to the Index to the Charters, in 1372; and *Derneford*, co. Hunts., according to the same, in 1164. The M.E. *dern* means "secret, private, known but to few," as is shown in the N.E.D., s.v. *Dern*. From the A.S. *derne*, secret. The E. verb *to darn* is from the same source; see my Notes on Etymology, p. 56.

SHELFORD. Spelt *Selford* (A.F. form of *Shelford*) in 1210 (R.B.); Domesday Book has *Escelforde*, with prefixed euphonic *E*; I.C.C. has both *Esceldford* and *Sceldford*. The A.F. *Scelford* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; and *Seldford* in

1228 (Pedes Finium). It is clearly the same name as that spelt *Sceldeford*; Hugonis Candidi Cœnobii Burgensis Historia, p. 39. The *d* is lost between *l* and *f*, precisely as in Chilford (above). This is a correct and intelligible form. Halliwell gives the M.E. *scheld*, shallow, as applied to water, with a good example; and adds that it is still in use. It is a mutated variant (with *e* for *a*) of M.E. *schald*, shallow; see Barbour's Bruce, ix. 354, and the footnote, and *schald* in Jamieson. This form is not recorded in the Dictionaries, but certainly existed, as it is preserved in the place-name Shalford, in Essex and Surrey, as shown by Mr Stevenson (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1895–8, p. 532). Cf. Shalbourn (shallow bourn), Berkshire; Shalfleet (shallow stream) in the Isle of Wight. There is also a Shelford in Notts., beside Stoke Ferry on the river Trent. And the following extract from Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 157, gives the forms *Scealdeford* and *Sceldeford* as convertible:—"of Staundūne to Scealdeforda, and of Sceldeforda to coleboge welle." But this is in quite a late MS.

Stapleford. Spelt *Stapelforde* in 1302 (F.A. i. 147); *Stapleford* in Domesday Book; *Staplesford* (with error of *sf* for *ff*) in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, in an Anglo-French copy; but *Stapelford* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 687. Stapleford (Herts.) appears as *Stapulford* (Kemble's Index). The prefix is A.S. *stapul, stapol*, an upright post; by which, presumably, the ford was originally marked. Compare Staplow; p. 74.

Thetford. Spelt *Tedford* in Domesday Book, with *T* for *Th*; owing to the difficulty of sounding the English *th*. The Liber de Hyda (p. 10) has the correct M.E. form, viz. *Theedford*. The A.S. form is *þēodford*; A.S. Chron., ed. Plummer, ii. 446; and *þēod-*, in composition means "great," the literal sense of the sb. *þēod* being "people." The literal sense is "people-ford," hence "large or wide ford." Why Isaac Taylor calls this obvious solution "improbable," it would be difficult to say. Perhaps Toller's explanation of *þēod-* in composition was then unpublished.

WHITTLESFORD. For the explanation, see WHITTLESEA. Lit. "ford of Hwītel."

WITCHFORD. Domesday Book has *Wiceford*, with *ce* = *che*. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Wicheford*; and the forms *Wichforda*, *Wicheforda* occur in I.C.C. For one explanation, see WITCHAM. Or it may mean "ford near the witch-elm"; from A.S. *wice*; cf. Ashford, Oakford, Thornford.

HEATH.

Perhaps the sole example of this suffix is seen in HORSEHEATH; the derivation of which is obvious. It appears as *Horseheth* in 1339, in the Ely Registers, but *Horseth* (with loss of *h*) in 1276, Hund. Rolls, p. 52, and in 1283, In. p. m.

LEY.

Examples of *-ley* occur in Ashley, Brinkley, Cheveley, Childerley, Eltisley, Graveley, East Hatley and Hatley St George, Madingley, Silverley, Westley, and Wetherley. The suffix *-ley* represents the A.S. *lēah*, a lea or field, or in some cases at least, the dat. case *lēage* of the same substantive. As the *g* in *lēage* was sounded like *y*, the Mid. Eng. form is usually *lēye* in the dative, and *ley* in the nominative; see *lēi* in Stratmann.

ASHLEY. In Domesday Book spelt *Esselie*, with *ss* for *sh* (as often), and *E* for A.S. *Æ*. The prefix is the A.S. *æsc*, modern E. *ash*. See SILVERLEY at p. 67. There are four other Ashleys in England.

BRINKLEY. Spelt *Brynkeleye* in the Ely Registers in 1339; and, as late as in Fuller, *Brinkelee*. The Norman spelling *Brinkewrða* (for *Brinkeweorð*) occurs in a charter dated 1065, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 167, l. 1; with reference to Brinkworth in Wilts. There are also such names as Brinkburn, Brinkhill, and Brinklow. In all these cases we see the

modern E. *brink*, a word of Scandinavian origin; from Dan. *brink*, verge, Swed. *brink*, the descent or slope of a hill. According to the map, the road from Six Mile Bottom to Brinkley rises nearly 250 feet.

CHEVELEY. The spellings somewhat vary; we find *Chevelee* or *Chevele* in 1383, 1394, and 1401 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, and F.A. i. 175); *Cheveley* (as now) in 1428 (F.A.). Also *Chavele* in 1302 to 1346 (F.A.); *Chauelai* in 1160 (Pipe Roll); *Chavelai* in Domesday Book; and *Chauelei*, *Cauelei*, *Cheueleie* in I.C.C. The spellings *Calvelega* and *Chalvelega* in R.B., in 1171 and 1167, introduce an unoriginal *l*. It is spelt *Cœafle* (in the dat. case) in a twelfth century copy of a charter dated about 990; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 10. Also *Cheaflea* in a copy of a charter of King Cnūt; Cod. Dipl. iv. 13. All the earlier spellings are consistent with a derivation from the A.S. *ceaf*, mod. E. *chaff*. See *Chaff* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

It would appear that the final *f* took the sound of *v*, thus obscuring the meaning of the word; after which *Chave-* became *Cheve*. The Eng. Dial. Dictionary has *chave* as a verb, meaning to separate chaff from grain; also *chavins* or *cheevings*, bits of broken straw; *chavin-riddle* or *cheevy-riddle*, a coarse sieve used in chaving; *chave-hole*, a recess for chaff. Hence the form *Cheve-* is not without support. There is a Chieveley in Berks., but it is of different origin, meaning "Cifa's lea"; see *Cifan-lēa* in Kemble's Index.

CHILDERLEY. Spelt *Chylderle* in 1302 (F.A. i. 148); and *Cildrelai* (with *Ci* for *Chi*) in Domesday Book. Here *Childer-* or *Childre-* represents the A.S. *cildra*, gen. pl. of *cild*, a child. The sense is "children's lea." As the A.S. *cild* has a double form of the gen. pl., viz. *cilda* and *cildra*, there is no difficulty in assigning to *Childer-* the same sense as to the *Chil-* (for *cilda*) in Chilford (p. 63).

ELTISLEY. Spelt *Eltislee* in Fuller's Worthies; *Elteslee* in 1302 (F.A. i. 149); *Eltesle* in 1251 (In. p. m., p. 8). The prefix seems to involve the same personal name as that which appears in Altham, Lancs., also spelt *Alvetham*, *Elvetham*, where

Elvet represents the A.S. Ælfgeat; see Wyld, Place-names of Lancs., p. 48. It may therefore mean "Ælfgeat's lea."

GRAVELEY. Spelt *Gravele* in 1284 (F.A. i. 138); *Gravelei* in Domesday Book. The A.S. spelling is *Græflēa*; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 382, note 16; compare *Greflea, Græflea,* in the Ramsey Chartulary. It is compounded of A.S. *græf*, a trench, mod. E. *grave,* and *lēah,* a lea or field. The sense is "field with a trench." Cf. the Crawford Charters, pp. 61, 62.

HATLEY. Spelt *Hattele* in 1284 (F.A. i. 136); *Hattelega* (Latin) in 1210 (R.B.); *Hatelai, Atelai* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form is *Hættanlēa,* in Ælfhelm's Will; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 300, l. 13. *Hættan* is the gen. case of a personal name *Hætta,* of which *Hetta* (noted by Mr Searle) is apparently an alteration. It means "Hætta's lea."

MADINGLEY. Spelt *Maddynglee* in 1302, *Maddingle* in 1284 (F.A. i. 138, 148), *Madinglega* (Latin), in 1210 (R.B.); *Madingelee* in 1199 (Pedes Finium); *Madingelei* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form would be *Madinga-lēah,* or "lea of the Madings." *Mading* is a tribal name; cf. *Mada* as a personal name, whence the dat. *Madan-lēage,* i.e. Madeley; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 123, l. 3. There is a Maddington in Wilts.; whilst from the name *Mada* we have Madeley in Shropshire (as above), and Madehurst in Sussex.

SILVERLEY. There is a parish named Ashley-cum-Silverley. The spelling *Silverle* occurs in 1284, 1302, 1346, and 1428 (F.A. i. 139, 142, 158, 177); but Domesday Book has *Severlai,* and we find *de Seuerlaio* in I.C.C., p. 98, for which another MS. has *de Seiluerleia.* The prefix seems a strange one, but we have similar instances; compare Silverdale, Lancs., Silverstone, Northampt., Silverton, Devon. In Silverdale, *Silver-* was substituted for *Siuerd-*, A.S. *Sigeweard* (Wyld, Pl.-names of Lancs.); and Silverley may once have been "Sigeweard's lea."

WESTLEY. Spelt *Weslai* in Domesday Book, with *s* for *st*; but *Westlai* in Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The prefix is the E. *west.*

This village is often called Westley Waterless, so that it was once badly off for wells. Mr Foster finds that it had the epithet *waterlees* as far back as 1339, as recorded in the Ely Registers; and I have since found *Westle waterles* in 1308 (Pedes Finium). Perhaps it is necessary to say that the former spelling, with final *-lees*, is the usual Mid. English spelling; and it is interesting to notice that the word occurs in Chaucer's Prologue, l. 180:—"Is likned til a fish that is *waterlees*." The A.S. form of this suffix is *-lēas*.

WETHERLEY. This is the name of a hundred. The spelling *Wetherle* occurs in 1284 and 1302 (F.A. 137, 146); but another spelling is *Wederle* in 1168, or better *Wederleah*, as in 1166 (Pipe Rolls); Domesday Book has *Wederlai*; but I.C.C. has both *Wederlai* and *Weðerlai*. This suggests that the prefix is *wether*, a sheep, A.S. *weðer*, for which the A.F. form was *weder*, owing to the difficulty of sounding the *th*. Cf. Wethersfield in Essex.

MERE. The A.S. *mere* means "lake," in which sense it is familiar to all who know the English lakes. I know of no example in Cambs. except FOWLMERE or FOULMIRE. The name Foulmire is comparatively modern (later than 1500), but is not difficult to account for. It is well-known how the letter *r* has a tendency to preserve a preceding long vowel; thus the word *more* is still pronounced with the open *o*, whereas the *o* in *stone* is close; and the word *shire* is still locally called *sheer*, though usually it rhymes to *fire*, and this *ee* preserves the A.S. pronunciation of the *ī* in *scīr*. It is not surprising that some people should once have confused the word *mere*, a lake, with the old sound of *mire*, and so have altered the word to suit a popular etymology, suggested by the fancy that *fowl* meant "dirty," instead of referring to birds. However, there is no doubt as to the sense, though the mere has now been drained away. The spelling *Foulmere* occurs in 1401, and *Fulmere* in 1302 (F.A. i. 147, 175); the Pipe Rolls have *Fugelmara*, where *Fugel* is at any rate explicit. Even in Domesday Book we find the spellings *Fuglemœre* and *Fugelesmara*, where once more the former

part of the word is correct, but the latter part is a little altered, by the substitution of the Latinised form *mara* (A.F. *mare*, from O. Norse *marr*) for A.S. *mere*; see *Mara* in Ducange. Fortunately, the original A.S. compound is not difficult to find; there were several "fowl-meres" in different parts of England, and they must have been extremely useful when hawking was common. The A.S. *fugel-mere* (fowl-mere) occurs in a charter dated 931, Earle, Land Charters, p. 166, last line but one; and again in a charter dated 972 (which Prof. Earle thinks to be genuine); p. 449, l. 6 from the bottom. I even find the late spelling *fugel-mœre* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 529, l. 4 from bottom; and the true form *fugel-mere* in the very next line. It is a pity that the A.S. dictionaries omit the word, though they give several compounds with *fugel*; but it is duly noted in Earle's Glossarial Index, p. 490.

Pool. From A.S. *pōl*, a pool; now ascertained to be a Germanic word, not Celtic. It occurs in Wimpole.

Wimpole. The *m* in *Wimpole* is due to the succeeding *p*. The spelling *Wympole* occurs in 1346, but may be due to a mistake, as *Wynipole* also appears at the same date (F.A. i. 164, 169). Earlier, we find *Wynepol* in 1302 (F.A. i. 146), and *Winepole* in 1210 (R.B.) and in Domesday Book. The prefix represents *Winan*, gen. of *Wina*, a known name. The pool in Wimpole Park is still large enough to be marked in maps. It means "Wina's pool."

Wade. This suffix occurs in Land-wade, where the prefix is the common word *land*. The old spellings are *Landwade* (1284, 1316, 1346) in F.A. i. 136, 156, 159, and *Landwath* (1210) in R.B. The variation of spelling shows that it represents the A.S. *wœd*, a ford, which occurs in some dialects as *wath* (Icel. *vað*), as noted by Jamieson, Ray, and in the Catholicon Anglicum. We have the same suffix in *Biggles-wade*. The cognate Lat. form is *uadum*, a ford. Allied to E. *wade*, verb, and to Lat. *uādere*, to go.

§ 11. Some other Names.

In the following names, we have mostly to deal with simple words rather than compounds.

Borough Green. Named from *Borough*, which is the older name; spelt *Burg* in the time of Henry III and *Burch* in Domesday Book. From A.S. *burh*, a fort, a borough. It is also spelt Burrough Green; and it lies to the N.E. of Brinkley.

Bourn. So named from the brook, now called Bourn Brook. Formerly *Burne* in 1210, but the earlier spelling is *Brunne*, in 1171, 1190, 1194 (R.B.); and *Brune* in Domesday Book. Thus its first name was Scandinavian, from Icel. *brunnr*, a spring, well, or fountain; which was afterwards exchanged for the corresponding English name, from A.S. *burne, burna*, a small stream.

Burnt Fen. This part of the fen-land, to the east of Ely, doubtless obtained its name from the famous story of the burning of the fen there by Hereward and his men. See ch. 25 of the Gests of Hereward, appended to Gaimar's Chronicle, ed. Wright (Caxton Society), p. 94.

Chatteris. A common old spelling is *Chateriz*, as in 1326 (In. p. m., p. 237) and in late copies of charters; see Cod. Dipl. iii. 107; also *Chaterih* in the same, iv. 145. I.C.C. has *Catriz, Cateriz, Cetriz, Chetriz*; Domesday Book has *Cetriz, Cietriz*; all Norman spellings. English spellings are supplied by the Ramsey Chartulary, which has *Ceatrice, Cœateric, Chateric, Chaterik*; and we find *Ceateric* in Thorpe, Diplom., p. 382. The final *-z* in the Norman spelling was sounded as *ts*, and it seems to have been used as a substitute for the Latin suffix *-cus*, in the case of names which were Latinised by adding *-us* to an A.S. name in *-c*. Thus, in I.C.C., we find an A.S. form *Ædric* (for Ēadrīc), whence Lat. *Ædricus*, and A.F. *Ædriz*; A.S. *Aluric* (for Ælfrīc), Lat. *Aluricus*, A.F. *Alriz*; A.S. *Gōdrīc*, Lat. *Godricus*, A.F. *Godriz*; A.S. *Lēofrīc*, Lat. *Leofricus*, A.F.

Leofriz. Hence the Norman forms quoted above represent such forms as *Catric, Cateric, Cetric, Chetric*; and all the forms quoted may be deduced from an A.S. form *Ceatrīc* or *Cætrīc.* But as this form has no suffix significant of position, it cannot represent a personal name. Mr Stevenson kindly suggests that it may have been a river-name. Cf. *Wenrīc, Wenrisc,* the river Windrush; in Kemble's Index. And perhaps cf. Chatburn, Lancs.

COLD HARBOUR. I understand that this name is found in Cambs., as in several other counties. It simply means "shelter, unprovided with a fire-place." It is explained in the New English Dictionary, s.v. *Harbour,* § 2. Such shelters were made by the way-side. The word *Harbour* is of Norse origin, and first occurs about A.D. 1150. There was a "Cold Harbrough" within London itself, mentioned in 1320; see the interesting note by Stowe, in his Survey of London, ed. Thoms, pp. 88–9.

ELM. Spelt *Elm* in 1346 (F.A. i. 141), and in a late copy of a charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 4, l. 3 from bottom. The editor of the Ramsey Chartulary notes a mention of it in 1321; see iii. 122, note 12. From A.S. *elm,* an elm-tree. There is nothing very remarkable in so childish a name; compare Ash, Hazel Grove, Hazelwood, Maplestead, Poplar, and the like, in various counties. And observe the name Prickwillow, noted at p. 72. There is an Elmham in Norfolk.

KENNET. Kennet is near a river of the same name. Spelt *Kenet* in 1346 (F.A.), *Chenet* (for *Kenet*) in Domesday Book; *Kenet* in I.C.C. The question as to whether the name belonged originally to the town or to the river seems to be settled by the fact that there is another river Kennet which joins the Thames at Reading; and the village of East Kennet in Wiltshire is situated upon it. Perhaps the river-name Kent is related to it; at any rate, *Kentford* in Suffolk is short for *Kennetford,* as it is spelt *Chenetheford* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. Mr Stevenson says that the Berkshire Kennet

is from an older **Cunētio*, from which the regular descendant would be *Cynwydd*, which exists as a Welsh river-name.

KIRTLING. Spelt *Kertelenge* in Fuller's Worthies; *Chertelinge* (for *Kertelinge*) in Domesday Book; and *Curtelinge* in I.C.C. As the vowel *e* or *i* would have palatalised the A.S. initial *C*, it is certain that the A.S. form began with *Cy*. This is pointed out by Kemble in his Saxons in England, i. 460, who infers that this was a settlement of the tribe of *Cyrtlingas* or sons of *Cyrtla*; a result which is confirmed by the existence of a Kirtlington in Oxfordshire. The name *Cyrtla* occurs in the Crawford Charters, p. 52. It may have been given to a man from his dress; cf. A.S. *cyrtel*, a kirtle, a kind of garment. Egilsson points out that the Icel. *geita-kyrtla*, lit. "clad in a goat-skin kirtle," was an epithet applied to a country lass.

MARCH. Spelt *Merch* in 1169, in the Pipe Roll; *Merc* in I.C.C. From A.S. *mearce*, inflected form of *mearc*, fem., a mark, boundary or limit. For the sense of the term see Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. i. c. 2, entitled "The Mark."

NEWMARKET. Spelt *Newemarket* in 1383 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, ii.), and referred to as *Novus Mercatus* in 1276 (Hund. Rolls), and in 1219 (Pedes Finium). From *new* and *market*. The earliest known use of the word *market* is in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle (an. 963), written not earlier than 1120. The town cannot be of earlier date than the 12th century, and is probably no earlier than the 13th.

OVER. Spelt *Overe* in 1210 (R.B.); *Ovre* and *Oure* in Domesday Book; *Ouer* in a late copy of a charter; Cod. Dipl. iv. 145. The A.S. form is *ōfre*, dat. of *ōfer*, a shore of the sea, or bank of a river; cognate with G. *Ufer*. Over is situate on what was once a bank or shore, overlooking the waters of the fenland.

PRICKWILLOW. A village beyond Ely, near the railway. Named from a tree, probably the *Salix viminalis*, sometimes called the *twig-withy* or *osier-withy*. So called because used for

making *pricks* or skewers. Similarly the *Euonymus europæus* was called the *prickwood, pricktimber*, or *spindle-tree*. Compare Elm, as noted at p. 71.

QUY. The name somewhat varied at different dates. The spelling with *qu* is found after 1250. Thus we find *Queye* in 1261 (Pedes Finium), 1290 (In. p. m.), 1302 (F.A.), and *Qweye* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica); with the variant *Coye* in 1276 (Hundred Rolls) and 1284 (F.A.). This shows that the word was identified with the A.F. *queye, queie*, O.F. *coye*, the feminine of the A.F. adj. *quey*, O.F. *coy*, from Lat. *quiētus*, quiet; as if *Queye* meant the quiet (or secluded) house or village. But earlier spellings show that this was a Norman popular etymology. The name was probably A.S., as the place is mentioned both in I.C.C. and D.B. The forms in I.C.C. are *Coeie, Choeie*, Latinised as *Coeia* in D.B.; whilst the Inquisitio Eliensis has *Cuege*. In 1210 we find *Cueye* (R.B.); and in 1272 *Coweye, Cowye* (Pedes Finium). If we may trust to the form *Cū-ēge*, the sense is "cow-island," as is still more clearly shown by the later forms *Cu-eye, Cow-eye, Cow-ye*. The *-eie* in I.C.C., Latinised as *-eia*, also points clearly to the suffix meaning "island"; compare the numerous examples already given, pp. 53—61. The only difficulty is to explain the A.F. prefix *Co-*, of which *Cho-* (with *Ch* for *K*) is the equivalent. We may fairly suppose that this early *ō* really meant the A.S. *ū*, because the Norman of the 11th century did not possess the sound *ū* at all, and *ō* was the nearest equivalent; see the preface by G. Paris to his Extraits de la Chanson de Roland, § 25. Thus this Chanson has *por*, where Philip de Thaun has *pur*, and later French has *pour*.

REACH. Spelt *Reche* in 1279 (Hund. Rolls), and in 1316 (F.A.). It lies to the north of Swaffham Prior. The map in The Fenland, Past and Present, shows that it stood at the very verge of the waters of the fenlands, on a round projection of the old shore. It denotes, accordingly, that its position was on a "reach" or extension of the land; and we have a similar name in Over, already discussed. The A.S. *rǣcan*, to reach,

also means to extend or hold out. The substantive derived from it is not in early use; so that the present name is probably no older than the thirteenth century. Sawtry in Hunts. is merely a corruption of *Saltreche*; see the Index to the Cartularium de Rameseia. It once stood upon a small salt bay.

Spinney. There is a Spinney Abbey to the North of Wicken Fen. This name is French; from the A.F. *espinei*, a place where thorn-trees grow; from the Lat. *spinētum*, a thorn-thicket. The surname *de Spineto* refers to it, in 1228 (Pedes Finium), and in 1299 (In. p. m.).

Stane, Staine. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Stanes* in Domesday Book; a form which suggests a derivation from A.S. *stān*, a stone. But as this would have produced the modern form *Stone*, it was clearly re-named by Scandinavians, who translated it by the equivalent Scandinavian word, as seen in Icel. *steinn*, a stone. It makes no difference to the sense. *Stanes* represents the A.S. plural *stānas*, i.e. "stones"; and we find this form in the Inquis. Eliensis, p. 98. Perhaps it is worth noting that the spelling *Stegen* given in Searle's Onomasticon is merely the English way of writing the Danish name *Stein*, which is the precise equivalent of A.S. *Stān*. In the same way, in the A.S. *bātswegen*, modern Eng. *boatswain*, we see the Danish equivalent of the A.S. *swān* denoted by *swegen*; and, at the same time, *Swegen* is the A.S. spelling of *Swein*, king of England in 1014. The reason is that *ei* was a diphthong unknown to A.S. scribes, who could only denote it by *eg*, where *eg* represents the sound of *ay* in *way* (A.S. *weg*).

Staplow, Staploe. The name of a hundred; a contracted form. The old spellings are *Stapelho*, 1284–1346; *Stapilho*, 1401; *Stapulho*, 1428; all in F.A. Domesday Book has *Staplehou*. The prefix is the A.S. *stapol*, a post, pole, or pillar, as in Stapleford (p. 64). The suffix is the modern Eng. *hoe*, a promontory or projecting point of land, derived from the A.S. *hōh*, a heel, a projection. See *Hoe* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

No doubt the hundred (which includes Soham) was named from a lost village.

STOW; as in Stow-cum-Quy, and in North Stow and Long Stow hundreds. From A.S. *stōw*, "a place" or site; whence the verbs *stow* and *bestow* are derived.

TOFT. *Toft* is a well-known word of Scandinavian origin; the usual sense is a cleared space for the site of a house; hence, a "homestead." See *topt* in Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary. The Domesday Book has *Tofth*, owing to the fact that the Norman scribes frequently represented the English *t* (especially when final) by *th*; by which symbol they meant a strongly pronounced *t*, not the English *th*. Oddly enough, the spelling *Thofte* occurs in 1302 (F.A. i. 149), where it is the initial *T* that is thus treated.

TYDD, or TYDD ST GILES. Spelt *Tyd* in 1302 (F.A. i. 141), and in 1293 (In. p. m.). From an A.S. personal name. The earliest form of the name is *Tidi* (with short *i*) in the ninth century; hence the place-name *Tiddes-ford* (Kemble). There is also a weak form *Tidda*. Compare the place-names Tidmarsh, Tidworth, and Tiddington.

WICKEN. The same as *Wykes*, mentioned in 1210, in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and in 1284 in Feudal Aids, i. 136; and see In. p. m. There is much less difference in reality than in appearance; for the sense is practically the same in either case. *Wykes* is the Mid. Eng. plural of *wyk*, answering to A.S. *wīc*, a village; and *Wicken*, spelt *Wykyne* in 1395 in the Pedes Finium, answers to A.S. *wīcum*, the dat. pl. of the same word, the pl. being used in the same sense as the singular; see *wīc* in the A.S. Dictionary. The use of the dative is common in place-names; and the *u* in the suffix *um* would prevent the *c* from being palatalised.

WRATTING. Spelt *Wrattinge* in 1302 (F.A. i. 141); and *Wreting* in 1167 (P.R.). A variant is *Wrotinge* in 1210 (R.B.);

and as late as in Fuller's Worthies we find *Wrotting*. Domesday Book has *Waratinge*, where the former *a* is inserted to help the Norman to pronounce the *W*. In Ælfhelm's Will we have the A.S. form *Wrœttincge* in the dative case. The name marks the settlement of an East-Anglian tribe of *Wrœttings* or "sons of Wrætta." There is another Wratting in Suffolk; and, although we do not find *Wrœt* as a personal name, it is sufficiently vouched for by Wretham and Wretton, both in Norfolk. Neither is it difficult to divine whence the name arose; the bearer of the name was probably conspicuous by bearing (like Oliver Cromwell) a wart upon his face. The Promptorium Parvulorum gives us *wret* as the East-Anglian form of "wart," and it is still in use; and the form *wrat* is still good Northern English. The Dutch word also is written *wrat*.

§ 12. List of Ancient Manors.

The following is a list of manors in the county of Cambridge, according to the Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis and the Inquisitio Eliensis, in modern spelling, except when now unrepresented.

Bassingbourn, Balsham, *Belincgesham*, Bottisham, Bourn, Burwell, Camps, Carlton, *Clintona*, Cottenham, Kirtling, Chippenham, Ditton, Doddington, Dullingham, Dunham, Impington, *Erlingetona* (Harlton?), Shelford, Ashley, *Esselinga*, Fulbourn, Fowlmere, Gransden, Hauxton, Histon, Hildersham, Hinton, Horningsea, Kennet, Linton, Litlington, Lolworth, *Lyndona*, Madingley, Morden, Over, Soham, Silverley, Saxton, Snailwell, Stapleford, Stetchworth, Streatham, Swaffham, Sutton, Teversham, Trumpington, Wratting, Wendy, Weston, Witcham, *Wich* (Wicken?), Wilbraham, Wisbeach, Whittlesea, Willingham, Wentworth.

For a list of hundreds, see Conybeare's Hist., p. 270.

§ 13. Conclusion.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from a general survey of the names is that very nearly all of them are Mercian English, perhaps mixed with Frisian, from which it is hardly distinguishable. There is hardly a trace of Celtic, except in the names of rivers. Of these, the Granta is certainly Celtic, and is the origin (after many vicissitudes) of the modern Cam. The Kennet is also apparently Celtic; but as to the origin of the Lark I can find no evidence. Among the oldest place-names is that of Ely. Considering the numerous inroads of the Danes, the traces of Danish are surprisingly small. The only name that is wholly Scandinavian is Toft. We also find traces of Danish nomenclature in the former syllables of Brinkley and Carlton, and perhaps of Boxworth and Pampisford. Bourn had once the Danish name of Brunne, and Staine is a Danish form of an A.S. *Stān* (Stone). I have seen an appeal made to the name Begdale, near Elm, as being an instance of Scandinavian influence; but I suspect the name to be modern, and introduced from without; this is notoriously not a county in which one can find *dales*. Besides these traces of Danish, there are a few traces of Norman, as in the instance of the modern form of Quy, in the former elements of Guyhirn and Royston, and in the latter element of Newmarket; and some of the native names have been somewhat affected by a Norman pronunciation, as in the final syllable of Chatteris. But all these instances chiefly serve to emphasize the predominance of English; and it must never be forgotten that the speech of Cambridgeshire and Essex has always influenced the speech of London, and has thus affected to some extent and at second-hand, the prevailing speech of the whole empire.

It has been alleged, with apparent truth, that the centre of gravity of the English dialects, that is to say, the district where the dialect approaches nearest to the literary standard, is that of Leicestershire. And it is further clear that our literary speech arose from the fact that, in three great educational centres, viz. London, Oxford, and Cambridge, the talk of the

higher classes did not materially differ, and certainly belonged to what is known as East Midland. I believe we cannot be far wrong in saying that the district whence standard English really arose is that occupied by a compact set of 12 counties, viz. Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex.

Postscript. The recent publication of The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge by the Corporation of Cambridge and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society jointly suggests the addition of a few supplementary remarks.

At p. 2 of this work is printed a Writ of Henry I, in which the spelling *Cantebruge* (for Cambridge) occurs. But the text is taken from a late copy, so that we have still no evidence for such a spelling earlier than 1142 (see p. 31 above). In fact, the original text of this Writ probably had *Grentebruge* throughout, as printed in the second line of it. This same work exhibits the spelling *Cambrigge* at p. 56, as occurring in Letters Patents dated 1465. Compare this with *Cambryge* in 1462, as noted at p. 32 above.

At p. 202 of the same work, the spelling of Stourbridge is seen to have been *Stirbrigge* in 1519, whilst we learn from p. 100 that it had become *Sturbridge* in 1589. Cooper's Annals of Cambridge mentions *Styrrebridge* in 1544, and *Stirbrige* in 1546 (vol. i. pp. 416, 441). But, as shown at p. 33 above, the oldest spelling is *Steresbreg'*, as in 1279; in confirmation of which I can further cite *Steresbreg'* in 1201–2 from the Rotulus Cancellarii de tertio anno regni regis Johannis (1833), p. 140, and *Steresbrig'* in 1199–1200 from Rotuli Curiæ Regis, ed. Sir F. Palgrave, vol. ii. p. 62. Hence the explanation given at p. 33 above is sufficiently justified.

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In the following Index, the reference is to the preceding pages.

I have taken the opportunity of giving at the same time—within marks of parenthesis—the spellings which occur in Domesday Book, with references to the *pages* and *columns* as numbered in the Facsimile of the Part relating to Cambridgeshire, photozincographed in 1862.

Thus the place-name Abington is discussed at p. 19 above; whilst the spelling *Abintone* will be found in the Facsimile four times, viz. in p. III, col. 1 (denoted by 3 a), in p. III, col. 2 (denoted by 3 b), in p. IX, col. 2, and in p. XI, col. 1.

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